UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

v.

Crim. No. 17-201-1 (ABJ)

PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR.,

REDACTED

Defendant.

GOVERNMENT'S SENTENCING MEMORANDUM

The government submits this memorandum in connection with the sentencing of Paul J. Manafort, Jr., scheduled for March 13, 2019, in connection with his guilty plea to two counts of conspiracy in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371. Consistent with the practice the Special Counsel's Office has followed, the government does not take a position with respect to a particular sentence to be imposed. Instead, the government sets forth its assessment of the nature of the offenses and offender and the applicable advisory sentencing guidelines and sentencing factors.¹

Based on his relevant sentencing conduct, Manafort presents many aggravating sentencing factors and no warranted mitigating factors. Manafort committed an array of felonies for over a decade, up through the fall of 2018. Manafort chose repeatedly and knowingly to violate the law—whether the laws proscribed garden-variety crimes such as tax fraud, money laundering, obstruction of justice, and bank fraud, or more esoteric laws that he nevertheless was intimately familiar with, such as the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA). His criminal actions were bold, some of which were committed while under a spotlight due to his work as the campaign chairman and, later, while he was on bail from this Court. And the crimes he engaged in while on

¹ See 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a).

bail were not minor; they went to the heart of the criminal justice system, namely, tampering with witnesses so he would not be held accountable for his crimes. Even after he purportedly agreed to cooperate with the government in September 2018, Manafort, as this court found, lied to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), this office, and the grand jury. His deceit, which is a fundamental component of the crimes of conviction and relevant conduct, extended to tax preparers, bookkeepers, banks, the Treasury Department, the Department of Justice National Security Division, the FBI, the Special Counsel's Office, the grand jury, his own legal counsel, Members of Congress, and members of the executive branch of the United States government. In sum, upon release from jail, Manafort presents a grave risk of recidivism. Specific deterrence is thus at its height, as is general deterrence of those who would engage in comparable concerted criminal conduct. See United States v. Fry, 851 F.3d 1329, 1332 (D.C. Cir. 2017) (district court correctly considered pertinent sentencing factors when it, among other things, "explained that the sentence would deter Fry and others who may be inclined in doing similar kinds of things" (internal quotations omitted)); United States v. Jackson, 848 F.3d 460, 466-67 (D.C. Cir. 2017) (citing 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a)(2)(B) & (C), the question for the sentencing court is whether the sentence is "sufficiently stiff to deter [the defendant] and others from committing similar crimes in the future."); United States v. Foy, 617 F.3d 1029, 1037 (8th Cir. 2010) (general deterrence interest in deterring "similarly situated persons.")

Nothing about Manafort's upbringing, schooling, legal education, or family and financial circumstances mitigates his criminality. Indeed, as part of his plea agreement, Manafort agreed that, although he could dispute for instance the guideline calculation as to role in the offense, a

downward departure from the government's estimated sentencing guideline range of 210 to 262 months is not warranted and he would not seek or suggest a departure or adjustment.²

The government has organized this submission as follows:

- I. Procedural History
- II. The Presentence Investigative Report ("PSR")
- III. Manafort's Relevant Criminal Conduct And The Statutory Sentencing Factors Under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a):
 - (A) Count One Conduct
 - (B) Count Two Conduct
 - (C) Post-Plea Conduct

Attached to this filing are the following:

- <u>Attachment A</u>: A copy of the superseding criminal information to which Manafort pled guilty on September 14, 2018 (Doc. 419);
- Attachment B: A copy of Manafort's plea agreement (Doc. 422) and the Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts, dated September 14, 2018 (Doc. 423);
- Attachment C: A copy the superseding indictment charging Manafort in the Eastern
 District of Virginia (EDVA) on February 22, 2019, United States v. Manafort, 1:18-cr-83
 (Doc. 9);
- Attachment D: A copy of the verdict form from Manafort's trial in the EDVA, United States v. Manafort, 1:18-cr-83 (Aug. 21, 2018) (Doc. 280);
- Attachment E: A copy of the government's sentencing submission in the EDVA, *United States v. Manafort*, 1:18-cr-83 (Feb. 15, 2019) (Doc. 314);
- Attachment F: A copy of the government's objections to the PSR (under seal); and
- Attachment G: A copy of additional documents cited herein, including the government's proposed trial exhibits, which were previously provided to the Court and defense. (An index of these exhibits is included in Attachment G, in the front of that attachment.)

² Attachment B, section 4D. Manafort further agreed that a sentence within the 210 to 262 month range "would constitute a reasonable sentence in light of all the factors set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), should such a sentence be subject to appellate review notwithstanding the appeal waiver provided below." *Id.* at section 5.

I. Procedural History

The government details below the charges filed against Manafort in this Court and the United States District Court for the EDVA, and his subsequent convictions, guilty pleas, and failed cooperation.

A. The District Of Columbia Indictment And Arrest

A grand jury sitting in the District of Columbia indicted Manafort and his employee Richard Gates on October 27, 2017, on eight counts.³ The charged conduct related to Manafort's work as an agent of the Government of Ukraine, the Party of Regions and Opposition Bloc, and Ukrainian President Victor Yanukovych (collectively, "Ukraine"). For years, Manafort failed to register under FARA and caused others to fail to register. Manafort also conspired to fail to report both the income earned from his Ukraine engagement and the overseas accounts in which his funds were maintained. He later concealed that work by making false statements to the United States Department of Justice, specifically the FARA Unit of the National Security Division. Manafort also engaged from 2006 to 2016 in a money laundering conspiracy, with multiple objects. Among other things, his money laundering promoted his FARA crimes. The money laundering and tax conspiracies related to the tens of millions from Ukraine, maintained in myriad overseas accounts in Cyprus, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and the United Kingdom, and transferred to the United States to pay fees to companies that engaged in the FARA scheme, as well as to purchase personal services, luxury items, real estate, and improvements to Manafort's homes in Bridgehampton, New York, and Palm Beach, Florida, among others.

³ Indictment, Oct. 27, 2017 (Doc. 13).

Manafort was allowed to surrender to the FBI on these charges on Monday, October 30, 2017, and was released on bail subject to a series of conditions, including home confinement and GPS monitoring.⁴

B. Superseding Indictments In The District Of Columbia And Manafort's Remand

On February 23, 2018, the grand jury charged Manafort in a superseding indictment that made several new allegations.⁵ Of note, it included an additional component of the FARA scheme concerning the Hapsburg Group's lobbying in the United States. As the Court is aware, those new allegations led to Manafort and Konstantin Kilimnik promptly and repeatedly reaching out to two witnesses in order to coach them to lie about the work that the Hapsburg Group performed in the United States.⁶ On June 8, 2018, Manafort was charged with two additional crimes, along with Kilimnik: attempt and conspiracy to obstruct justice based on their efforts to tamper with these witnesses with respect to the FARA scheme.⁷ On June 15, 2018, after hearing from the parties, this Court remanded Manafort based on his criminal conduct while on pretrial release.⁸ That decision was affirmed on appeal.⁹

C. The EDVA Indictment And Trial

On February 22, 2018, a grand jury sitting in the EDVA returned a 32-count indictment against Manafort. Manafort was charged in connection with two types of schemes: one involved

⁴ Order, Oct. 30, 2017 (Doc. 9). Manafort was also subject to an Order with respect to certain pre-trial communications. Order, November 8, 2017 (Doc. 38).

⁵ The superseding indictment also narrowed the charges in one respect. The initial District of Columbia indictment had charged Manafort with four enhanced foreign bank account reporting (FBAR) charges, as to which there was venue in this district. (Indictment ¶¶ 42-43, Oct. 27, 2018 (Doc. 13)). The EDVA indictment included non-enhanced FBAR charges (as to which there was no venue in the District of Columbia), and the enhanced FBAR charges in this district were dropped as a matter of prosecutorial discretion. Attachment C (superseding indictment ¶¶ 55-56, *United States v. Manafort*, 1:18-cr-83 (E.D. Va. Feb. 22, 2018) (Doc. 9)).

⁶ Superseding indictment ¶¶ 30-31, Feb. 23, 2018 (Doc. 202); Order of Detention, June 15, 2018 (Doc. 328); Opinion, United States v. Manafort, No. 1:18-3037, (D.C. Cir. July 31, 2018) (Doc. 1743190).

⁷ Superseding indictment ¶¶ 48-51 (Doc. 318).

⁸ Order, June 15, 2018 (Doc. 328).

⁹ Opinion, United States v. Manafort, No. 18-3037 (D.C. Cir. July 31, 2018) (Doc. 1743190).

tax and FBAR violations; a second involved multiple bank fraud and bank fraud conspiracies. Specifically, Manafort was charged with: (a) filing false tax returns as to his income and the existence of overseas accounts from 2010 to 2014 (Counts One through Five); (b) failing to file FBARs in the years 2011 to 2014 (Counts Eleven through Fourteen); and (c) bank fraud and bank fraud conspiracy (Counts Twenty-Four to Thirty-Two).¹⁰

As with the facts supporting the tax conspiracy charge in the District of Columbia, the substantive tax and FBAR charges related to millions in income earned in Ukraine. Additionally, the indictment contained new allegations, charging Manafort in nine bank fraud and bank fraud conspiracies, involving five loan applications to three separate financial institutions, seeking more than \$25 million. Four of these loan applications related to properties that Manafort purchased or improved with funds from his overseas accounts.¹¹

Manafort elected to go to trial and on August 21, 2018, a jury convicted Manafort on eight counts: tax (5), FBAR (1), and bank fraud (2). The jury was hung on the remaining ten counts. 12

D. Manafort's Guilty Pleas In The District of Columbia

On September 14, 2018, on the eve of his second trial and after the jury selection process had commenced, Manafort pled guilty to a two-count superseding information pursuant to a plea agreement requiring his cooperation. Attachment A. The charges encompassed all of the factual allegations in the charges brought in this district. Count One charged Manafort with conspiracy

¹⁰ Attachment C (superseding indictment, *United States v. Manafort*, 1:18-cr-83 (E.D. Va. Feb. 22, 2018) (Doc. 9)). As the Court is aware, prior to pursuing charges in the EDVA, the Special Counsel's Office asked counsel for Manafort and Gates whether they would waive venue and allow the new charges to be added to the existing District of Columbia indictment. Manafort, as was his right, declined to waive venue; Gates agreed to waive venue. In light of Manafort's decision, the government proceeded in the EDVA against both defendants. The crimes in the two districts are distinct; in particular, the substantive tax and FBAR charges have separate elements from the conspiracy charges in this district. *See Witte v. United States*, 515 U.S. 389 (1995).

¹¹ Attachment C (superseding indictment ¶¶ 28-44, *United States v. Manafort*, 1:18-cr-83 (E.D. Va. Feb. 22, 2018) (Doc. 9)).

¹² Attachment D (jury verdict form, *United States v. Manafort*, 18-cr-83, (E.D. Va. Aug. 21, 2018) (Doc. 280) (indicating on its verdict sheet that it voted eleven to one in favor of guilt on the remaining ten counts)).

against the United States, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 371. The conspiracy has as its objects: tax fraud (in violation of 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1)), FBAR crimes (in violation of 31 U.S.C. §§ 5312 and 5322(b)), a substantive FARA violation and making false statements to the Justice Department (in violation of both FARA 22 U.S.C. §§ 612, 618(a)(1) and 618(a)(2) and 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a)), and money laundering (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1956). Manafort's conduct underlying this charge was summarized in the Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts. During Manafort's allocution, he admitted that: he was part of a conspiracy that involved money laundering involving millions of dollars of his income being wired from offshore accounts for goods, services, and real estate; he concealed that income and the related purchases, and the offshore accounts themselves; he hid millions of dollars of other income by falsely characterizing it as "loans"; he lied to his bookkeeper and tax preparers both about the payments from overseas and the existence of the bank accounts from which the money was transferred; he engaged in extensive lobbying activities in the United States on behalf of Ukraine without registering for this work as required; he funneled over \$11 million from overseas accounts to pay for lobbyists working for Ukraine to engage in unregistered lobbying in the United States; and in submissions to the Department of Justice in November 2016 and February 2017, he caused false and misleading statements to be made relating to the lobbying work for Ukraine. 13

Count Two charged a separate conspiracy to obstruct justice, concerning the tampering with two witnesses who had pertinent evidence about the work of the Hapsburg Group and its United States lobbying. Manafort pleaded guilty to conspiring with Kilimnik between February

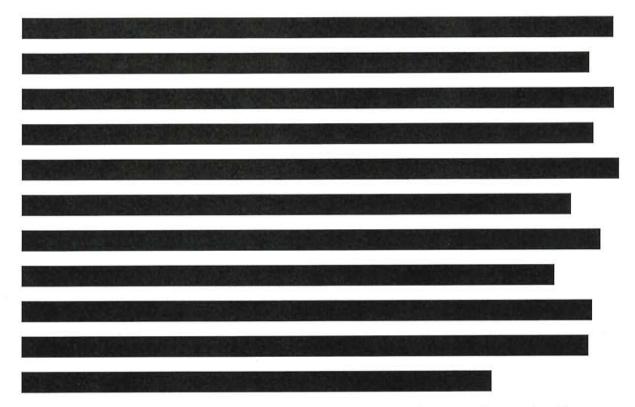
¹³ The plea agreement also contained admissions to Manafort's criminal liability for the conduct at issue in the mistried counts in the EDVA. Attachment B (Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts ¶¶ 47-54 (Doc. 423).

23, 2018 and April 2018 to obstruct justice by reaching out to two witnesses to have them conform their testimony to a false set of facts. 14

II. The PSR

The government provided its objections to the PSR on February 14, 2018. A copy of that submission is attached hereto in Attachment F, and is incorporated herein. (Because it relates to the PSR, it is being filed under seal.) Because the government has not had the opportunity to respond to Manafort's submission to Probation, we note the following with respect to Manafort's Manafort contends that objection

¹⁴ Attachment A (superseding information \P 64-67 (Doc. 419)); Attachment B (Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts \P 44-46 (Doc. 423)); Plea Hr'g Tr. 32:15 – 33:16, 34:17-20 (Doc. 424).



III. Manafort's Relevant Criminal Conduct And The Statutory Sentencing Factors Under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a)

Sentencing courts must consider the relevant section 3553(a) factors, which include: the nature and circumstances of the offense; the history and characteristics of the defendant; the need to promote respect for the law, provide a just punishment for the offense, and afford adequate deterrence to criminal conduct; and the need to avoid unwarranted sentencing disparities. 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a). Below, the government sets forth facts pertinent to these factors.

The government addresses each object of the Count One conspiracy and then addresses the Count Two conspiracy and Manafort's misconduct after his guilty pleas.

A. Count One

1. Count One: The FARA Object

This section first discusses Manafort's experience with the FARA statute. That history serves to distinguish Manafort from those who are unaware or unsure of FARA's parameters. It

also exemplifies Manafort's boldness in choosing to disobey the law, as he committed his FARA violations after being warned by the Department of Justice about the law's strictures and after resigning a Presidential appointment in connection with the Department of Justice review. Next, the three major prongs of Manafort's United States lobbying scheme for Ukraine are discussed. Finally, this section outlines Manafort's violations involving lying to the Justice Department in order to cover up his FARA crimes.

From 2006 until 2015, Manafort led a multi-million dollar lobbying campaign in the United States at the direction of Ukraine. Manafort did so without registering and providing the public disclosures required by law. Such disclosures would have revealed to the United States public, among other things, which United States government officials were being contacted by Ukraine, when such lobbying occurred, how much was being spent on the lobbying effort, and what public relations activities were undertaken by Ukraine (although appearing to emanate from independent sources). Secrecy was integral to the effectiveness of the foreign lobbying Manafort orchestrated for Ukraine to influence American leaders and the American public; compliance with FARA would have revealed the deceptive tactics Manafort and his Ukraine client were using to lobby in the United States. For instance, as set out in the Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts, Manafort orchestrated a scheme to smear surreptitiously a former senior Obama State Department official and then falsely blame the smear on an Obama rival, so that Ukraine could curry favor with the Obama Administration. Manafort also used secrecy to mislead Members of Congress, falsely using a Hapsburg member as a purported independent voice to advocate with Congress, while concealing that he was a paid Ukraine lobbyist.

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¹⁵ Attachment B (Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts ¶¶ 6-8, 12-13, and 22 (Doc. 423)); Plea Hr'g Tr. 17:19 − 19:20; 32:25 − 34:20 (Doc. 424).

As part of the lobbying scheme, Manafort hired numerous firms and people to assist in his lobbying campaign in the United States. He hired

the Hapsburg Group members, and Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom ("Skadden"), among others, to participate in what he described to President Yanukovych in writing as a global "Engage Ukraine" lobbying campaign which he devised and led. Leaving aside the money Manafort himself earned, these companies and law firm were paid the equivalent of over \$11 million for their Ukraine work over a two-year period.

a. Manafort's History With The FARA Statute

Manafort had a lengthy history with the Department of Justice concerning the FARA statute. These interactions arose in connection with Manafort's lobbying in the mid-1980s when he was a principal at the firm Black, Manafort, Stone, and Kelly Public Affairs Company ("BMSK"). The Department of Justice inspected BMSK's files and provided BMSK its findings of deficiencies in both Manafort's and other BMSK FARA filings. 16

In or about the summer and fall of 1986, the Department of Justice's Criminal Division (which then performed the functions now performed by the FARA Unit at the Department's National Security Division) conducted Section 5 inspections of Manafort and BMSK.

Manafort's position as both a lobbyist for foreign governments and a director of a federal agency—the Overseas Private Investment Corporation ("OPIC")—drew scrutiny from the Department of Justice, the White House, and the press. Both then and now, public officials cannot

¹⁶ Pursuant to 22 U.S.C. § 615, an agent of a foreign principal is required to maintain books and records with respect to its activities, and to keep them "open at all reasonable times to the inspection of any official charged with the enforcement" of FARA. By regulation, the Attorney General has authorized officials of the National Security Division and the FBI to inspect those books and records. See 28 C.F.R. § 5.501. These inspections—named "Section 5" inspections in light of their place in the FARA statute—can involve a review of, among other things, all correspondence with foreign principals and those relating to a FARA registrant's political activities, contracts, financial records, and corporate documents.

be agents of foreign principals, see 18 U.S.C. § 219, and the White House had determined that it would not grant a certification under that statute to exempt Manafort from the law's requirements.

Manafort had registered as an agent of the Saudi Arabian government from in or about June 1984 through June 1986.¹⁷ But Manafort did not register for other FARA work. Faced with the White House's decision not to grant him a waiver, Manafort contended to the Department of Justice that he did not run afoul of section 219 because he had not personally lobbied. He claimed that only his firm BMSK, and not he, had acted as a foreign agent. Manafort's argument was rejected by the Department of Justice. The language of section 219 mirrors FARA in applying to anyone who "is or acts as an agent of a foreign principal required to register under [FARA]," 18 U.S.C. § 219(a). Even if there might be a theoretical case of "political consulting" that did not involve any personal contacts or other public-relations and lobbying conduct covered by FARA, Manafort's public-relations and lobbying services were determined not to fall within that limited type of consulting. Thus, Manafort had to either resign his political appointment, or would have

¹⁷ See Attachment G (FARA Registration Statement, June 1, 1984, P. Manafort (exhibit 941); FARA Supplemental Statement, July 3, 1985, P. Manafort (exhibit 945); FARA Registration Amendment, June 26, 1986, P. Manafort (exhibit 949)).

¹⁸ The Department's position was applied to the facts it found during its inspection. The inspection found, among other items, 18 lobbying and public-relations activities that were not reported by Manafort. These omissions included lobbying by Manafort of Congress and the White House regarding a "Jerusalem Bill" and a "Saudi Arms package", dissemination of press articles to Congress, lobbying of the National Security Council, and talking points "for telephone calls on Pending Saudi Munitions Sale." The inspection also revealed that Manafort's financial disclosure to the FARA Unit failed to reflect accurately Manafort's payments from the foreign principal. Attachment G (excerpt of DOJ Section 5 Inspection File, Registration No. 3594, Paul J. Manafort, May 27, 1987, p. 3-4, 5-9).

The Department's inspection of Manafort yielded a May 29, 1987 letter to Manafort's counsel cautioning that "[p]olitical activities undertaken as background or to prepare for a proposal or a piece of legislation must be fully disclosed even though the proposal may have been subsequently delayed, the legislation may not have been reported out of Committee, etc." Attachment G (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee, etc." Attachment G (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee, etc." Attachment G (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee, etc." Attachment G (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee, etc." Attachment G (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee, etc." Attachment G (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee, etc." Attachment G (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 letter to proposal may have been reported out of Committee (May 29, 1987 le

The Department's inspection of BMSK also revealed a number of deficiencies in BMSK's filings for its work on behalf of ten foreign principals. For example, the inspection report noted a November 1985 memorandum from Manafort describing a media plan for the dissemination of material to the United States media on behalf of the Bahamas. The inspection report found that BMSK's FARA filings must disclose the activity. Similarly, the inspection found a March 1986 memorandum from Manafort and others arranging for Bahamian officials to meet with United States press, another memorandum from Manafort summarizing information that had been sent to United States government officials "in both the Executive and Legislative branches", and a March 1986 memorandum committing to arrange meetings between Bahamian officials and congressional members during a visit to Washington D.C. The

to cease all his activities on behalf of foreign principals. Manafort resigned his position as a director of OPIC on May 16, 1986.¹⁹

b. <u>Ukraine's Lobbying Operation Through</u>

As he admitted as part of his plea, Manafort in 2005 began a lengthy relationship with foreign government actors, particularly in Ukraine. In 2012, Manafort spearheaded a major international lobbying operation for Ukraine, with a large focus on lobbying in the United States. It had three main aspects, which are discussed in turn.

First, Manafort retained , two large Washington, D.C. lobbying firms, to engage from 2012 to 2014 in an extensive lobbying effort on behalf of Ukraine, without registering under FARA. Manafort arranged to pay the firms over \$2.5 million from Ukraine funds funneled through his offshore accounts for the United States lobbying work for Ukraine. Those transfers also form the gravamen of one prong of the money laundering

inspection report explained that all this activity had to be disclosed under FARA. Attachment G (excerpt of DOJ Section 5 Inspection File, Registration No. 3600, BMSK, p. 3, 8, 14 (exhibit 910)).

¹⁹ Attachment G (excerpt of DOJ Section 5 Inspection File, Registration No. 3600, BMSK, p. 81 (exhibit 910)).

²⁰ Attachment G (302, Aug. 10, 2018, at 1).

²¹ Attachment G (Exhibits A and B to FARA Registration, Jan. 23, 2008 (exhibit 1028)).

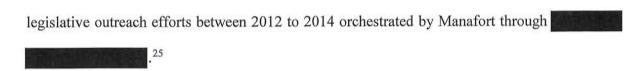
conspiracy.²² Among other things, Manafort had the firms lobby dozens of Members of Congress, their staff, and White House and State Department officials about Ukraine sanctions, the validity of Ukraine elections, and the propriety of imprisoning Yulia Tymoshenko.

One illustration of this aspect of the United States lobbying operation concerned its furtive activity in connection with the United States Senate's consideration of a resolution condemning Ukraine for President Yanukovych's locking up his political opponent Tymoshenko. resolution was referred to as the Durbin resolution, after its main proponent United States Senator Richard Durbin.²³ The imprisonment of Tymoshenko was a major sticking point in United States-Ukraine relations, as many in the executive and legislative branches thought her treatment demonstrated a lack of commitment to the rule of law. Manafort and President Yanukovych engaged in an all out effort to kill or at least delay the resolution. Thus, Manafort had his lobbying firms contact numerous Members of Congress, engaging in backroom lobbying using personal contacts and confidential Congressional information obtained secretly by Congressional staff. A chart attached hereto in Attachment G, which was provided to the Court and defense counsel in August 2018 as part of the Court's pretrial Order regarding trial exhibits, details the major aspects of this effort.²⁴ None of this lobbying was reported under FARA, as required, so the public would be aware of what efforts this foreign government was making with Members of Congress and the Executive branch. The Durbin resolution is but one example of the lobbying campaign; the government has outlined in Attachment G, Exhibit 448, the principal

²² See Attachment G (chart, "Foreign Transfers to United States Accounts of Entities Performing Work in the United States," (exhibit 434)).

²³ Attachment G (email, Nov. 19, 2013, to R. Gates, and an another that the continued selective and politically motivated imprisonment of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko unnecessarily detracts from Ukraine's otherwise strong relationship with Europe, the United States, and the community of democracies."

²⁴ See Attachment G (chart, "Legislation: Durbin Resolution," (exhibit 449) (outlining principal lobbying activities



Manafort was integrally involved in these lobbying efforts. He repeatedly communicated in person and in writing with President Yanukovych and his staff about the lobbying activities of . He tasked the companies to prepare written reports on their work so he, in turn, could brief President Yanukovych. For instance, Manafort wrote President Yanukovych a memorandum dated April 8, 2012, in which he provided an update on the lobbying firms' activities "since the inception of the project a few weeks ago. It is my intention to provide you with a weekly update moving forward." In November 2012, Gates wrote to the firms that they needed to prepare an assessment of their past and prospective lobbying efforts so the "President" could be briefed by "Paul" "on what Ukraine has done well and what it can do better as we move into 2013." The resulting memorandum noted among other things that the "client" had not been as successful as hoped given that it had an Embassy in Washington. 27

To appear to distance their United States lobbying work from Ukraine, and to avoid having to register as agents of Ukraine under FARA, Manafort, with others, arranged for to be nominally engaged by a newly-formed Brussels entity called the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine (the Centre), instead of directly by Ukraine.

Manafort privately described the Centre as "the Brussels NGO that we have formed" to coordinate lobbying for Ukraine. The Centre was founded by a Ukraine Party of Regions

²⁵ Attachment G (exhibit 441 is an even broader chart, outlining by proposed trial exhibit number all government relations activity orchestrated by Manafort reflected in proposed trial exhibits).

²⁶ Attachment G (memo, Apr. 8, 2012, PJM to VFY, "AC Project Update", p. 2 (exhibit 569)).

²⁷ Attachment G (email, Nov. 29, 2012, to R. Gates, Re Assessment, p. 2-4 (exhibit 1763)).

²⁸ Attachment G (memo, July 3, 2012, P. Manafort to generally, et. al., "Program to Conduct Briefings of Embassies, Media and NGOs", p. 3 (exhibit 505)).

member and Ukraine First Vice-Prime Minister. The head of its Board was another member of the Party of Regions, who became the Ukraine Foreign Minister.²⁹ In spite of these ties to Ukraine, Manafort and others arranged for the Centre to represent falsely to FARA legal counsel that the Centre was not "directly or indirectly supervised, directed, [or] controlled" in whole or in major part by the Government of Ukraine or the Party of Regions (and thus did not need to register under FARA).³⁰

Despite the Centre's being the ostensible client of Manafort knew that the Centre did not direct or oversee their United States work. The firms received direction from Manafort and his subordinate Gates on behalf of Ukraine.

c. Ukraine's Lobbying Operation Through The Skadden Report

As a second part of Ukraine's scheme to lobby in the United States illegally, in 2012 Manafort solicited Skadden, a prominent United States law firm, to write a report evaluating the trial of Tymoshenko. Manafort caused the Ukraine Ministry of Justice to hire the law firm. The goal was for the report to be used in the United States and elsewhere to defend the Tymoshenko criminal trial, specifically to argue that President Yanukovych and Ukraine had not engaged in selective prosecution. The selection of the lead attorney at Skadden was made with the United States lobbying effort in mind. Although using an accurate report to lobby in the United States on behalf of Ukraine, without reporting under FARA, is itself illegal, Manafort's conduct was compounded by the fact that he knew the report was misleading and used to justify the political prosecution and jailing of a political opponent.

Manafort also retained a public relations firm, to prepare a media roll-out plan for the Skadden report. Manafort worked closely with to develop a detailed written lobbying plan in

²⁹ Attachment G (letter, May 4, 2012 , "ECFMU" (exhibit 1349); R. Gates 302, Feb. 1, 2018, at 2). ³⁰ Attachment G (email, May 4, 2012, to Research to Rick? (exhibit 1608)).

connection with what Manafort termed the selling of the report. This campaign included getting the Skadden report seeded to the press in the United States—that is, to leak the report ahead of its official release to a prominent United States newspaper and then use that initial article to influence reporting globally.³¹

A chart setting out a timeline of the major lobbying efforts orchestrated by Manafort to lobby in connection with the Skadden Report is attached hereto as Exhibit 444 of Attachment G. More than \$4.6 million was paid to Skadden for its work. Manafort used one of his offshore accounts to funnel \$4 million of that sum. Manafort used the same offshore accounts to pay the equivalent of more than \$1 million.³²

Manafort was aware of various facts that were kept from the public Skadden report, because they would undermine the effectiveness of the report as a lobbying tool. For instance, Manafort knew that the actual cost of the report and the true scope of the law firm's work would undermine the report's being perceived as independent. Although FARA would have required disclosure of the amount paid for the report (more than \$4.6 million), Ukraine reported falsely that the report cost just \$12,000.³³ Further, Manafort knew that the report did not disclose facts that could be used to question Skadden's impartiality, namely that Skadden, in addition to being retained to write the report, was retained to represent Ukraine in connection with the Tymoshenko

are also FARA Registration, Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP, Jan. 18, 2019, available at https://efile.fara.gov/docs/6617-Registration-Statement-20190118-1.pdf

Pursuant to 22 U.S.C. § 612(a)(5), an agent of a foreign principal is required to file a registration statement including the nature and amount of contributions, income, money, or thing of value, if any, that the registrant has received within the preceding sixty days from each such foreign principal, either as compensation or for disbursement or otherwise, and the form and time of each such payment and from whom received. Joint Pretrial Statement, (Doc. 389-393); see Attachment G (chart, "FARA Related Payments By Consultant," p. 3 (exhibit 436)).

33 Attachment G (email, June 22, 2012, to Represent the formula of the formula of

case itself and to provide training to the trial team prosecuting Tymoshenko in another criminal case.³⁴

Substantively, Manafort also knew the report was misleading. Manafort directed lobbyists to tout the report as showing that President Yanukovych had not selectively prosecuted Tymoshenko. But in November 2012—prior to the issuance of the report on December 13, 2012—Manafort had been told privately in writing by Skadden's lead partner that the evidence of Tymoshenko's criminal intent "is virtually non-existent" and that it was unclear even among legal experts that Tymoshenko did not possess the power to engage in the conduct at issue in the Ukraine criminal case. These facts were not disclosed to the public. 35

d. Ukraine's Lobbying Operation Through The Hapsburg Group

Starting in 2011, Manafort secretly retained and a group of four former European heads of state and senior officials (including a former Chancellor, Prime Minister, and President) to lobby in the United States and Europe on behalf of Ukraine. The former politicians, called the Hapsburg Group, appeared to be solely providing their independent assessments of the Government of Ukraine's policies, when in fact they were paid by Ukraine. Manafort explained in an "EYES ONLY" memorandum in or about June 2012 that his purpose was to "assemble a small group of high-level European infuencial [sic] champions and politically credible friends who can act informally and without any visible relationship with the Government of Ukraine."

Attachment G (memo, Apr. 5, 2012, G. Craig to V. Pshonka, "Projects and Plans" (exhibit 2012); email, Apr. 11, 2012, to A. van der Zwaan, Re FW Tomorrow – Friday 4/6 (exhibit 2013); email, Aug. 9, 2012, to , Re Kyiv Post Editorial: Skadden Stink (exhibit 2069); email, Aug. 30, 2012, A. van der Zwaan to , et. al., Re Project 2 (exhibit 2078); email, Aug. 30, 2012, to , Re Project 2 (exhibit 2079)).

Attachment G (email, Nov. 28, 2012, to P. Manafort, Re Memo, p. 3 (exhibit 2106)).
 Attachment G (memo, June 27, 2012, "CREATION OF A SUPER VIP GROUP..." (exhibit 504)).

In or about 2012 through 2014, Manafort directed more than the equivalent of \$2.8 million to be wired from at least four of his offshore accounts to secretly pay the Hapsburg Group.³⁷ To avoid European taxation, the contract with the Hapsburg Group falsely stated that none of its work would take place in Europe.³⁸ And, in or about 2012 through 2013, Manafort directed more than the equivalent of \$950,000 to be wired from at least three of his offshore accounts to the benefit of to secretly pay for its services, which entailed, among other things, interfacing with the Hapsburg Group for Manafort.³⁹

All four Hapsburg Group members, at the direction and with the direct assistance of Manafort, advocated positions favorable to Ukraine in meetings with United States lawmakers, interviews with United States journalists, and ghostwritten op-eds in American publications. A chart setting out the payments to the Hapsburg Group and a chart of the major lobbying efforts conducted by Manafort, including efforts conducted through the Hapsburg Group, are attached hereto as Exhibits 436 and 442, respectively.⁴⁰

One of the Hapsburg Group members, a former President, was also a representative of the European Parliament with oversight responsibility for Ukraine. Manafort solicited that official to secretly provide Manafort inside information about the European Parliament's views and potential actions toward Ukraine and to take actions favorable to Ukraine. Manafort also used this Hapsburg Group member's current European Parliament position to Ukraine's advantage in his lobbying efforts in the United States. As noted above, in the fall of 2012, the United States

³⁷ Attachment G (chart, "FARA Related Payments By Consultant," p. 6 (exhibit 436)).

³⁸ Attachment G (email, Nov. 14, 2012, R. Gates to Recontract (exhibit 1237)).

³⁹ Attachment G (chart, "FARA Related Payments By Consultant," p. 5 (exhibit 436)).

⁴⁰ Attachment G (chart, "FARA Related Payments By Consultant," p. 6 (exhibit 436); Chart, "Public Relations Activity," p. 16, 21, 23, 24, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, and 36 (exhibit 442)).

⁴¹ Attachment G (email, Sept. 28, 2012, to Re Fw: eyes only, p. 2-4 (exhibit 833)).

Senate was considering and ultimately passed the Durbin resolution, which was critical of President Yanukovych's treatment of former Prime Minister Tymoshenko. As noted above, Manafort engaged in an all-out campaign to try to kill or delay the passage of this resolution. Manafort told his lobbyists to stress to the United States Senators that the former President who was advocating against the resolution was currently a designated representative of the President of the European Parliament in order to give extra clout to his supposedly independent judgment against the proposed Senate resolution. Manafort never revealed to the American public, as required by FARA, that this representative (and his other lobbyists) were paid by Ukraine, thus violating a core purpose of the statute.

In another example, on May 16, 2013, a member of the Hapsburg Group lobbied in the United States for Ukraine. The Hapsburg Group member accompanied his country's prime minister to the Oval Office and met with the then-President and Vice President of the United States, as well as senior United States officials in the executive and legislative branches. In written communications sent to Manafort, the Hapsburg Group member reported that the Hapsburg Group member delivered the desired message.⁴⁴ FARA required Manafort to disclose such lobbying. Again, he did not.

In addition, with the assistance of Manafort personally lobbied in the United States. He drafted and edited numerous ghostwritten op-eds for publication in United States newspapers. He also personally met with a Member of Congress who was on a subcommittee

⁴² Attachment G (chart, "Legislation: Durbin Resolution" (exhibit 449)).

⁴³ Attachment G (email, Sept. 19, 2012, to R. Gates, P. Manafort, Re an urgent request ON IT (exhibit 1308)).

⁴⁴ Attachment G (email, May 17, 2013, to P. Manafort, Re DC notes (exhibit 852)).

⁴⁵ Attachment G (chart, "Public Relations Activity" (exhibit 442)).

that had Ukraine within its purview in March 2013 in Washington, D.C.⁴⁶ After the meeting, Manafort prepared a report for President Yanukovych that the meeting "went well" and reported a series of positive developments for Ukraine from the meeting.⁴⁷

e. Manafort's Belated 2017 FARA Registration Statement

In June 2017, Manafort filed a retroactive FARA registration statement for the period 2012 through 2014. That filing was plainly deficient. Manafort entirely omitted the United States lobbying contacts noted above and in the attached charts, all money (receipts and disbursements) related to the lobbying entities noted above, and a portion of the substantial compensation Manafort received from Ukraine.⁴⁸

f. Manafort's False Statements To The Department of Justice

Manafort caused his attorney to submit two false and misleading letters to the Department of Justice when it inquired about Manafort's Ukraine work beginning in September 2016. The government has already briefed to this Court and to the Chief Judge the facts concerning Manafort's misconduct.⁴⁹ The government supplements the record with the chart attached as Exhibit 438, which lists significant documents that Manafort had in his possession at the time that he had his FARA attorney (unwittingly) falsely represent to the Department of Justice that he had no documents concerning his Ukraine work because of a purported document retention policy.⁵⁰

Attachment G (Calendar Record, Mar. 19, 2013, "Dinner/Manafort, Capitol Hill Club (exhibit 1486)).

⁴⁷ Attachment G (chart, "Outreach to Congressman (exhibit 443); Memo, Mar. 23, 2013, P. Manafort to "US Consultants Activity – Weekly Update," p. 2 (exhibit 695)).

⁴⁸ Attachment G (FARA Registration Statement, DMP International, LLC (Registration No. 6440), June 27, 2017 (exhibit 926)).

⁴⁹ Government's Tr. Br. Regarding Effect of Memorandum Op. in *In re Grand Jury Investigation*, Sept. 10, 2018 (Doc. 407); Memorandum Opinion, *In re Grand Jury Investigation*, No. 17-mc-2336, 2017 WL 4898143 (D.D.C. Oct. 2, 2017).

⁵⁰ Attachment G (chart, "False and Misleading Foreign Agents Registration Act Statements in Counts 4 and 5," (exhibit 438)).

2. Count One: The Tax And FBAR Objects

The government has set forth the facts pertinent to this aspect of Manafort's crimes in a submission made in the EDVA, attached herein.⁵¹ The government relies on and incorporates that submission. The government notes that the FBAR crimes served to promote other crimes: the tax conspiracy herein as well as the FARA violations.⁵²

3. Count One: The Money Laundering Object

Manafort participated in a money laundering scheme with multiple objects.⁵³ For purposes of the money laundering object of Count One, it suffices to note that the money Manafort transferred from outside the United States into the United States served to promote FARA crimes. For instance, as evidenced by Exhibits 434 (attached as part of Attachment G), Manafort caused millions of dollars to be spent to further the FARA scheme.

B. Count Two: The Witness Tampering Conspiracy

The government has set forth the facts pertinent to Count Two in its filing with respect to bail, filed in June 2018,⁵⁴ and more recently in the Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts.⁵⁵ The Court is well acquainted with these facts; they are not repeated herein.⁵⁶

Manafort's witness tampering is notable because it occurred after he had already sought to obstruct the government's FARA investigation by causing his lawyer to submit false statements to the Department of Justice on a host of topics. Then, after indictment and while on pretrial release

⁵¹ Attachment E (The Government's Sentencing Memorandum, *United States v. Manafort*, 1:18-cr-83 (E.D. Va. Feb. 15, 2019) (Doc. 314)).

⁵² Attachment G (chart, "Payments from Foreign Entities to Entities Performing Work in the United States" (chart reflecting more that \$11 million from undisclosed foreign bank accounts controlled by Manafort for payment to companies that participated in lobbying in the United States for Ukraine under Manafort's direction) (exhibit 437)).

⁵³ Memorandum Opinion and Order, June 22, 2018 (Doc. 333).

⁵⁴ Government's Mot. To Revoke or Revise Def. Paul J. Manafort, Jr.'s Current Order of Pretrial Release, June 4, 2018 (Doc. 315).

⁵⁵ Attachment B (Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts (Doc. 423)).

⁵⁶ Order of Detention, June 15, 2018 (Doc. 328).

from two courts, he again obstructed justice by repeatedly seeking to have witnesses lie for him, and getting another (Kilimnik) to participate in that obstruction.

C. Post-Plea Misconduct

Manafort's conduct after he pleaded guilty is pertinent to sentencing. It reflects a hardened adherence to committing crimes and lack of remorse. As the Court is fully familiar with this proof, we do not repeat the evidence herein.⁵⁷

Manafort voluntarily entered into a plea agreement that required that he cooperate "fully, truthfully, completely, and forthrightly" with the government.⁵⁸ The plea agreement further provided that if the defendant failed "specifically to perform or to fulfill completely each and every one" of his obligations under the agreement, or "engages in any criminal activity prior to sentencing or during his cooperation," the defendant will be in breach of the agreement.⁵⁹ The agreement further provided:

[s]hould it be judged by the Government in its sole discretion that the defendant has failed to cooperate fully, has intentionally given false, misleading or incomplete information or testimony, has committed or attempted to commit any further crimes, or has otherwise violated any provision of this agreement, the defendant will not be released from his pleas of guilty, but the Government will be released from its obligations under this agreement, including (a) not to oppose a downward adjustment of two levels for acceptance of responsibility described above... and (b) to file the motion for a downward departure for cooperation described above. ⁶⁰

A breach leaves intact all the obligations of the defendant as well as his guilty plea, but relieves the government of its promises under the agreement.⁶¹

The government relies on and incorporates herein its submissions on this issue.⁶²

⁵⁷ Order, Feb. 13, 2019 (Doc. 509); Hr'g Tr., Feb. 13, 2019 (Doc. 514).

⁵⁸ Attachment B (Plea Agreement ¶ 8, Sept. 14, 2018 (Doc. 422)); Plea Hr'g Tr. at 39:10-17, 48:11-16, Sept. 14, 2018 (Doc. 424).

⁵⁹ Attachment B (Plea Agreement ¶ 13).

⁶⁰ Id. ¶ 13.

⁶¹ Id. ¶¶ 4B, 8, & 13.

⁶² Decl. in Support of the Government's Breach Determination and Sentencing, Jan. 15, 2019 (Doc. 474).

Based on the evidence provided to the Court, the government is not filing a motion for a reduction in sentence below the advisory Sentencing Guideline range or for a third point for acceptance of responsibility. Manafort is not entitled to such a motion under the terms of the plea agreement.⁶³

IV. Conclusion

For over a decade, Manafort repeatedly and brazenly violated the law. His crimes continued up through the time he was first indicted in October 2017 and remarkably went unabated even after indictment. Manafort engaged in witness tampering while on bail and, even after he was caught for engaging in that scheme, Manafort committed the additional crimes of perjury and making false statements after he entered his guilty pleas herein. The sentence in this case must take into account the gravity of this conduct, and serve both to specifically deter Manafort and generally deter those who would commit a similar series of crimes.

The Court has the discretion to run all or a portion of the sentence herein consecutive to that imposed in the EDVA criminal prosecution. As it is unknown what that sentence will be, we do not now take a position on the issue, but reserve our right to do so at sentencing herein.⁶⁴

⁶³ Hr'g Tr. at 13:13-16, Jan. 25, 2019 (Doc. 500). The superseding information to which Manafort pleaded guilty also included that he forfeit "any property, real or personal, involved in [Count One], and any property traceable to such property, and any property, real or personal, which constitutes or is derived from proceeds traceable to the offense…" (Doc. 409 ¶ 68). The forfeiture allegation explained that the government would seek a money judgment of forfeiture representing such property, to be offset by the forfeiture of specific property. *Id.* The United States intends to submit a separate motion for entry of such a money judgment in an amount to be determined by agreement with the Defendant or at a hearing to be conducted at the time of sentencing pursuant to Rule 32.2(b)(4) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. Further, as set forth in the plea agreement, the parties agreed that mandatory restitution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3663A does not apply. However, the Court has discretion to order restitution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3663. To implement an order of restitution this Court should require the Defendant to file corrected, accurate tax filings and pay all taxes, penalties and interest due and owing.

⁶⁴ Under the advisory Sentencing Guidelines, courts are to structure the sentences on multiple counts of conviction to reach the total punishment called for by the advisory guidelines. See U.S.S.G. § 5G1.2(d). The government submits that that mode of analysis is applicable to the issue of whether the sentence should run concurrently or consecutively, in whole or in part, to that imposed in the EDVA. See also id. § 5G1.3(d) and application note 4.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT S. MUELLER III

Special Counsel

Dated: February 22, 2019

By: Monday
Andrew Weissmann

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ATTACHMENT A

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA *

CRIMINAL NO. 17-201-1 (ABJ)(S-5)

*

v. * Violations: 18 U.S.C. § 371

*

PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR.,

*

Defendant.

*

SUPERSEDING CRIMINAL INFORMATION

The Special Counsel informs the Court:

- 1. PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR. (MANAFORT) served for years as a political consultant and lobbyist. Between at least 2006 and 2015, MANAFORT conspired with Richard W. Gates (Gates), Konstantin Kilimnik (Kilimnik), and others to act, and acted, as unregistered agents of a foreign government and political party. Specifically, MANAFORT conspired to act and acted as an agent of the Government of Ukraine, the Party of Regions (a Ukrainian political party whose leader Victor Yanukovych was President from 2010 to 2014), President Yanukovych, and the Opposition Bloc (a successor to the Party of Regions that formed in 2014 when Yanukovych fled to Russia). MANAFORT generated more than 60 million dollars in income as a result of his Ukraine work. In order to hide Ukraine payments from United States authorities, from approximately 2006 through at least 2016, MANAFORT, with the assistance of Gates and Kilimnik, laundered the money through scores of United States and foreign corporations, partnerships, and bank accounts.
- 2. In furtherance of the scheme, MANAFORT funneled millions of dollars in payments into

foreign nominee companies and bank accounts, opened by him and his underlings in nominee names and in various foreign countries, including Cyprus, Saint Vincent & the Grenadines (Grenadines), and the United Kingdom. MANAFORT hid the existence of the foreign companies and bank accounts, falsely and repeatedly reporting to his tax preparers and to the United States that he had no foreign bank accounts.

- 3. In furtherance of the scheme, MANAFORT concealed from the United States his work as an agent of, and millions of dollars in payments from, Ukraine and its political parties and leaders. Because MANAFORT directed a campaign to lobby United States officials and the United States media on behalf of the Government of Ukraine, the President of Ukraine, and Ukrainian political parties, he was required by law to report to the United States his work and fees. MANAFORT did not do so, either for himself or any of his companies. Instead, when the Department of Justice sent inquiries to MANAFORT in 2016 about his activities, MANAFORT responded with a series of false and misleading statements.
- 4. In furtherance of the scheme, MANAFORT used his hidden overseas wealth to enjoy a lavish lifestyle in the United States, without paying taxes on that income. MANAFORT, without reporting the income to his bookkeeper or tax preparers or to the United States, spent millions of dollars on luxury goods and services for himself and his extended family through payments wired from offshore nominee accounts to United States vendors. MANAFORT also used these offshore accounts to purchase multi-million dollar properties in the United States. Manafort then borrowed millions of dollars in loans using these properties as collateral, thereby obtaining cash in the United States without reporting and paying taxes on the income. In order to increase the amount of money he could access in the United States, Manafort defrauded the institutions that loaned money on

these properties so that they would lend him more money at more favorable rates than he would otherwise be able to obtain.

5. Manafort laundered more than \$30 million to buy property, goods, and services in the United States, income that he concealed from the United States Treasury, the Department of Justice, and others. MANAFORT cheated the United States out of over \$15 million in taxes.

Relevant Individuals And Entities

- 6. MANAFORT was a United States citizen. He resided in homes in Virginia, Florida, and Long Island, New York.
- 7. In 2005, MANAFORT and another partner created Davis Manafort Partners, Inc. (DMP) to engage principally in political consulting. DMP had staff in the United States, Ukraine, and Russia. In 2011, MANAFORT created DMP International, LLC (DMI) to engage in work for foreign clients, in particular political consulting, lobbying, and public relations for the Government of Ukraine, the Party of Regions, and members of the Party of Regions. DMI was a partnership solely owned by MANAFORT and his spouse. Gates and Kilimnik worked for both DMP and DMI and served as close confidants of MANAFORT.
- 8. The Party of Regions was a pro-Russia political party in Ukraine. Beginning in approximately 2006, it retained MANAFORT, through DMP and then DMI, to advance its interests in Ukraine, including the election of its slate of candidates. In 2010, its candidate for President, Yanukovych, was elected President of Ukraine. In 2014, Yanukovych fled Ukraine for Russia in the wake of popular protests of widespread governmental corruption. Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the Government of Ukraine were Manafort, DMP, and DMI clients.
- 9. The European Centre for a Modern Ukraine (the Centre) was created in or about 2012 in

Belgium as a mouthpiece for Yanukovych and the Party of Regions. The Centre was used by MANAFORT and others in order to lobby and conduct a public relations campaign in the United States and Europe on behalf of the existing Ukraine regime. The Centre effectively ceased to operate upon the downfall of Yanukovych in 2014.

10. MANAFORT owned or controlled the following entities, which were used in the scheme (the MANAFORT entities):

Domestic Entities

Entity Name	Date Created	Incorporation Location
D' M C / HC /PM	August 2008	Virginia
Daisy Manafort, LLC (PM)	March 2011	Florida
Davis Manafort International LLC (PM)	March 2007	Delaware
DIAD (DIA)	March 2005	Virginia
DMP (PM)	March 2011	Florida
D : M 6 (I (D) 0	October 1999	Delaware
Davis Manafort, Inc. (PM)	November 1999	Virginia
	June 2011	Delaware
DMI (PM)	March 2012	Florida
Global Sites LLC (PM)	July 2008	Delaware
Jesand Investment Corporation (PM)	April 2002	Virginia
Jesand Investments Corporation (PM)	March 2011	Florida
III II II II COMO	April 2006	Virginia
John Hannah, LLC (PM)	March 2011	Florida

Entity Name	Date Created	Incorporation Location
Lilred, LLC (PM)	December 2011	Florida
LOAV Ltd. (PM)	April 1992	Delaware
MC Brooklyn Holdings, LLC (PM)	November 2012	New York
MC Soho Holdings, LLC (PM)	January 2012	Florida
MC Solio Holdings, LLC (PM)	April 2012	New York
Smythson LLC (also known as Symthson LLC) (PM)	July 2008	Delaware

Cypriot Entities

Entity Name	Date Created	Incorporation Location
Actinet Trading Limited	May 2009	Cyprus
Black Sea View Limited	August 2007	Cyprus
Bletilla Ventures Limited	October 2010	Cyprus
Cavenari Investments Limited	December 2007	Cyprus
Global Highway Limited	August 2007	Cyprus
Leviathan Advisors Limited	August 2007	Cyprus
LOAV Advisors Limited	August 2007	Cyprus
Lucicle Consultants Limited	December 2008	Cyprus
Marziola Holdings Limited	March 2012	Cyprus
Olivenia Trading Limited	March 2012	Cyprus
Peranova Holdings Limited	June 2007	Cyprus

Entity Name	Date Created	Incorporation Location
Serangon Holdings Limited	January 2008	Cyprus
Yiakora Ventures Limited	February 2008	Cyprus

Other Foreign Entities

Entity Name	Date Created	Incorporation Location
Global Endeavour Inc. (also known as Global Endeavor Inc.)	October 2012	Grenadines
Jeunet Ltd.	August 2011	Grenadines
Pompolo Limited	April 2013	United Kingdom

11. The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) was a bureau in the United States Department of the Treasury responsible for administering the tax laws of the United States and collecting taxes owed to the Treasury.

The Scheme

12. Between in or around 2006 and 2017, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, MANAFORT and others devised and intended to devise, and executed and attempted to execute, a scheme and artifice to defraud, and to obtain money and property by means of false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises from the United States, banks, and other financial institutions. As part of the scheme, MANAFORT repeatedly provided false information to financial bookkeepers, tax accountants, and legal counsel, among others.

MANAFORT's Wiring Of Money From Offshore Accounts Into The United States

- 13. In order to use the money in the offshore nominee accounts of the MANAFORT entities without paying taxes on it, MANAFORT caused millions of dollars in wire transfers from these accounts to be made for goods, services, and real estate. He did not report these transfers as income to DMP, DMI, or MANAFORT.
- 14. From 2008 to 2014, MANAFORT caused the following wires, totaling over \$12,000,000, to be sent to the vendors listed below for personal items. MANAFORT did not pay taxes on this income, which was used to make the purchases.

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
S.P.&C. Home	6/10/2008	LOAV Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$107,000
Improvement	6/25/2008	LOAV Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$23,500
Inc.	7/7/2008	LOAV Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$20,000
(Home	8/5/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$59,000
Improvement	9/2/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$272,000
Company in the	10/6/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$109,000
Hamptons, New	10/24/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$107,800
York)	11/20/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$77,400
	12/22/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$100,000
	1/14/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$9,250
	1/29/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$97,670
	2/25/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$108,100
	4/16/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$94,394
	5/7/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$54,000
	5/12/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$9,550
	6/1/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$86,650
	6/18/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$34,400
	7/31/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$106,000
	8/28/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$37,000
	9/23/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$203,500
	10/26/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$38,800
	11/18/2009	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$130,906

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
	3/8/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$124,000
	5/11/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$25,000
	7/8/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$28,000
	7/23/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$26,500
	8/12/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$138,900
	9/2/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$31,500
	10/6/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$67,600
	10/14/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$107,600
	10/18/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$31,500
	12/16/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$46,160
	2/7/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$36,500
	3/22/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$26,800
	4/4/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$195,000
	5/3/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$95,000
	5/16/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$6,500
	5/31/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$70,000
	6/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$39,900
	7/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$95,000
	10/24/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$22,000
	10/25/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$9,300
	11/15/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$74,000
	11/23/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$22,300
	11/29/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$6,100
	12/12/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$17,800
	1/17/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$29,800
	1/20/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$42,600
	2/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$22,300
	2/23/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$75,000
	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$22,300
	3/28/2012	Peranova Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$37,500
	4/18/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
	5/15/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$79,000
	6/5/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$45,000
	6/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$11,860
	7/9/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$10,800
	7/18/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$88,000

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
	8/7/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$48,800
	9/27/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$100,000
	11/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$298,000
	12/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$55,000
	1/29/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$149,000
	3/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$375,000
	8/29/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$200,000
	11/13/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$75,000
	11/26/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$80,000
	12/6/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$130,000
	12/12/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$90,000
	4/22/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$56,293
	8/18/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$34,660
	V310-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-		Total	\$5,434,793
Big Picture	3/22/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
Solutions	3/28/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$25,000
(Home	4/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
Automation,	5/16/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$25,000
Lighting and	11/15/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$17,006
Home	11/23/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$11,000
Entertainment	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$6,200
Company in	10/31/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$290,000
Florida)	12/17/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$160,600
	1/15/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$194,000
	1/24/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$6,300
	2/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$51,600
	2/26/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$260,000
	7/15/2013	Pompolo Limited	United Kingdom	\$175,575
	8/28/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$179,000
	10/31/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$73,000
	5/23/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$99,960
	6/20/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$62,960
		22 Carate Cat. 201 200 200 2	Total	\$1,661,201
J&J Oriental	10/7/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$15,750
Rug Gallery	3/17/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$46,200

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
(Antique Rug	4/16/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$7,400
Store in	4/27/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$65,000
Alexandria,	5/7/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$210,000
Virginia)	7/15/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$200,000
	3/31/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$140,000
	6/16/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$250,000
			Total	\$934,350
Vendor D (Related to J&J Oriental Rug Gallery)	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$100,000
		V	endor D Total	\$100,000
Alan Couture	11/7/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$32,000
(Men's Clothing	2/5/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$22,750
Store in New	4/27/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$13,500
York)	10/26/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$32,500
	3/30/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$15,000
	5/11/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$39,000
	6/28/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$5,000
	8/12/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$32,500
	11/17/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$11,500
	2/7/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$24,000
	3/22/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$43,600
	3/28/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
	4/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$3,000
	6/30/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$24,500
	9/26/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
	11/2/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$26,700
	12/12/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$46,000
	2/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$2,800
	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$16,000
	3/14/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$8,000
	4/18/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$48,550
	5/15/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$7,000
	6/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$21,600
	8/7/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$15,500

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
	11/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$10,900
12/20/2012 1/15/2013		Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$7,500
		Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$37,000
		Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$7,000
	2/26/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$39,000
	9/3/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$81,500
	10/9/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$53,000
	11/25/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$13,200
	4/17/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$26,680
	9/11/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$58,435
			Total	\$849,215
Scott L. Wilson	4/27/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$34,000
Landscaping	5/12/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$45,700
(Landscaper in	6/1/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$21,500
the Hamptons,	6/18/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$29,000
New York)	9/21/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$21,800
	5/11/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$44,000
	6/28/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
	7/23/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$19,000
	9/2/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$21,000
	10/6/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$57,700
	10/18/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$26,000
	12/16/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$20,000
	3/22/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
	5/3/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$40,000
	6/1/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$44,000
	7/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$27,000
	8/16/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$13,450
	9/19/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
	10/24/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$42,000
	11/2/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$37,350
			Total	\$655,500
Vendor G	9/2/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$165,000
(Antique Dealer	10/18/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$165,000
in New York)	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$190,600
	3/14/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$75,000

Payee	Transaction Date	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction	
	2/26/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$28,310
		V	endor G Total	\$623,910
Fashion World,	6/25/2008	LOAV Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$52,000
Inc. d/b/a/ Bijan	12/16/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$49,000
(Clothing Store in	12/22/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$10,260
Beverly Hills,	8/12/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$76,400
California)	5/11/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$85,000
	11/17/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$128,280
	5/31/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$64,000
	11/15/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$48,000
	12/17/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$7,500
			Total	\$520,440
Aegis Holdings, LLC (Investment Company)		Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$500,000
			Total	\$500,000
Paul Sabatello	11/15/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$8,000
Construction	12/5/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$11,237
(Contractor in	12/21/2011	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$20,000
Florida)	2/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$51,000
	5/17/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$68,000
	6/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$60,000
	7/18/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$32,250
	9/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$112,000
	11/30/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$39,700
	1/9/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$25,600
	2/28/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$4,700
			Total	\$432,487
New Leaf	12/5/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$4,115
Landscape 3/1/2012 Global High		Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
Maintenance	6/6/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$47,800
LLC	6/25/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$17,900
	6/27/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$18,900
1	2/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$3,300

Payee	e Transaction Originating Account Date Holder		Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
(Landscaper in the Hamptons,	7/15/2013	Pompolo Limited	United Kingdom	\$13,325
New York)	11/25/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$9,400
	4/15/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$33,211
	5/13/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$30,965
	9/11/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$26,769
			Total	\$255,685
Don Beyer Motors, Inc.	4/12/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$83,525
(Payments Relating to three	5/2/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$12,525
Range Rovers)	6/29/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited Cyprus		\$67,655
			Total	\$163,705
Federal Stone	11/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$45,000
and Brick LLC	12/7/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$21,000
(Contractor in	12/17/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$21,000
Virginia)	1/17/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$18,750
	1/29/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$9,400
	2/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$10,500
			Total	\$125,650
Sensoryphile,	1/29/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
Inc.	3/17/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$21,725
(Audio, Video,	4/16/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$24,650
and Control System Home Integration and Installation	12/2/2009	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
	3/8/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$20,300
	4/23/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$8,500
Company in the Hamptons, New York)	7/29/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$17,650
	1		Total	\$112,825

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
American Service Center Associates of Alexiandria (Purchase of Mercedes Benz)	10/5/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$62,750
			Total	\$62,750
Land Rover of Palm Beach (Purchase of Range Rover) 12/30/2008		Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$47,000
			Total	\$47,000
Vendor Q	9/2/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
(Property	10/6/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
Management	10/18/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
Company in	2/8/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$13,500
South Carolina)	2/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$2,500
		- v	endor Q Total	\$46,000
Vendor R	2/9/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$17,900
(Art Gallery in Florida)	2/14/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$14,000
		V	endor R Total	\$31,900
Vendor S	9/26/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$5,000
(Housekeeping in	9/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$5,000
New York)	10/9/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$10,000
		1	endor S Total	\$20,000

15. In 2012, MANAFORT caused the following wires to be sent to the entities listed below to purchase the real estate also listed below. MANAFORT did not report the money used to make these purchases on his 2012 tax return.

Property Purchased	Payee	Date	Originating Account	Country of Origin	Amount
Howard Street Condominium (New York)	DMP International 2/1/2012 LLC		Peranova Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$1,500,000
Union Street Brownstone, (New York)	Account Of	11/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$299,500
		11/29/2012	Actinet Trading Limited	Cyprus	\$1,800,000
	(New York)	Attorney] 1	11/29/2012	Actinet Trading Limited	Cyprus
Arlington House (Virginia) Real Estate Trust		8/31/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$1,900,000

16. MANAFORT also disguised, as purported "loans," more than \$13 million from Cypriot entities, including the overseas MANAFORT entities, to domestic entities owned by MANAFORT. For example, a \$1.5 million wire from Peranova Holdings Limited (Peranova) to DMI that MANAFORT used to purchase real estate on Howard Street in Manhattan, New York, was recorded as a "loan" from Peranova to DMI, rather than as income. The following loans were shams designed to reduce fraudulently MANAFORT's reported taxable income.

Year	Payor / Ostensible "Lender"	Payee / Ostensible "Borrower"	Country of Origination	Total Amount of "Loans"
2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Jesand Investment Corporation	Cyprus	\$8,120,000
2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	DMP	Cyprus	\$500,000
2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	DMP	Cyprus	\$694,000
2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Daisy Manafort, LLC	Cyprus	\$500,000
2012	Peranova	DMI	Cyprus	\$1,500,000
2014	Telmar Investments Ltd.	DMI	Cyprus	\$900,000
2015	Telmar Investments Ltd.	DMI	Cyprus	\$1,000,000
Total				\$13,214,000

MANAFORT's Hiding Of Ukraine Lobbying And Public Relations Work

- 17. MANAFORT knew it was illegal to lobby government officials and engage in public relations activities (hereinafter collectively referred to as lobbying) in the United States on behalf of a foreign government or political party, without registering with the United States Government under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. MANAFORT knew he was lobbying in the United States for the Government of Ukraine, President Viktor F. Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the Opposition Bloc (the latter two being political parties in Ukraine), and thus he was supposed to submit a written registration statement to the United States Department of Justice. MANAFORT knew that the filing was required to disclose the name of the foreign country, all the financial payments to the lobbyist, and the specific steps undertaken for the foreign country in the United States, among other information.
- 18. MANAFORT knew that Ukraine had a strong interest in the United States' taking economic and policy positions favorable to Ukraine, including not imposing sanctions on Ukraine. MANAFORT also knew that the trial and treatment of President Yanukovych's political rival, former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, was strongly condemned by leading United States executive and legislative branch officials, and was a major hurdle to improving United States and Ukraine relations.
- 19. From 2006 until 2015, MANAFORT led a multi-million dollar lobbying campaign in the United States at the direction of the Government of Ukraine, President Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the Opposition Bloc. MANAFORT intentionally did so without registering and providing the disclosures required by law.
- 20. As part of the lobbying scheme, MANAFORT hired numerous firms and people to assist in

his lobbying campaign in the United States. He hired Companies A, B, C, D, and E, and Law Firm A, among others, to participate in what he described to President Yanukovych in writing as a global "Engage Ukraine" lobbying campaign that he devised and led. These companies and law firm were paid the equivalent of over \$11 million for their Ukraine work.

- 21. MANAFORT viewed secrecy for himself and for the actions of his lobbyists as integral to the effectiveness of the lobbying offensive he orchestrated for Ukraine. Filing under the Foreign Agents Registration Act would have thwarted the secrecy MANAFORT sought in order to conduct an effective campaign for Ukraine to influence both American leaders and the American public.
- 22. MANAFORT took steps to avoid any of these firms and people disclosing their lobbying efforts under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. As one example, even though MANAFORT engaged Company E in 2007 to lobby in the United States for the Government of Ukraine, MANAFORT tried to dissuade Company E from filing under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Only after MANAFORT ceased to use Company E in the fall of 2007 did Company E disclose its work for Ukraine, in a belated filing under the Act in 2008.
- 23. MANAFORT took other measures to keep the Ukraine lobbying as secret as possible. For example, MANAFORT, in written communications on or about May 16, 2013, directed his lobbyists (including Persons D1 and D2, who worked for Company D) to write and disseminate within the United States news stories that alleged that Tymoshenko had paid for the murder of a Ukrainian official. MANAFORT stated that it should be "push[ed]" "[w]ith no fingerprints." "It is very important we have no connection." MANAFORT stated that "[m]y goal is to plant some stink on Tymo." Person D1 objected to the plan, but ultimately Persons D1 and D2 complied with MANAFORT's direction. The Foreign Agents Registration Act required MANAFORT to disclose

such lobbying, as MANAFORT knew. He did not.

The Hapsburg Group and Company D

- 24. As part of the lobbying scheme, starting in 2011, MANAFORT secretly retained Company D and a group of four former European heads of state and senior officials (including a former Austrian Chancellor, Italian Prime Minister, and Polish President) to lobby in the United States and Europe on behalf of Ukraine. The former politicians, called the Hapsburg Group by MANAFORT, appeared to be providing solely their independent assessments of Government of Ukraine policies, when in fact they were paid by Ukraine. MANAFORT explained in an "EYES ONLY" memorandum in or about June 2012 that his purpose was to "assemble a small group of high-level European infuencial [sic] champions and politically credible friends who can act informally and without any visible relationship with the Government of Ukraine."
- 25. Through MANAFORT, the Government of Ukraine retained an additional group of lobbyists (Company D and Persons D1 and D2). In addition to lobbying itself, Company D secretly served as intermediaries between the Hapsburg Group and MANAFORT and the Government of Ukraine. In or about 2012 through 2013, MANAFORT directed more than the equivalent of 700,000 euros to be wired from at least three of his offshore accounts to the benefit of Company D to pay secretly for its services.
- 26. All four Hapsburg Group members, at the direction, and with the direct assistance, of MANAFORT, advocated positions favorable to Ukraine in meetings with United States lawmakers, interviews with United States journalists, and ghost written op-eds in American publications. In or about 2012 through 2014, MANAFORT directed more than 2 million euros to be wired from at least four of his offshore accounts to pay secretly the Hapsburg Group. To avoid

European taxation, the contract with the Hapsburg Group falsely stated that none of its work would take place in Europe.

- 27. One of the Hapsburg Group members, a former Polish President, was also a representative of the European Parliament with oversight responsibility for Ukraine. MANAFORT solicited that official to provide MANAFORT inside information about the European Parliament's views and actions toward Ukraine and to take actions favorable to Ukraine. MANAFORT also used this Hapsburg Group member's current European Parliament position to Ukraine's advantage in his lobbying efforts in the United States. In the fall of 2012, the United States Senate was considering and ultimately passed a resolution critical of President Yanukovych's treatment of former Prime Minister Tymoshenko. MANAFORT engaged in an all-out campaign to try to kill or delay the passage of this resolution. Among the steps he took was having the Hapsburg Group members reach out to United States Senators, as well as directing Companies A and B to have private conversations with Senators to lobby them to place a "hold" on the resolution. MANAFORT told his lobbyists to stress to the Senators that the former Polish President who was advocating against the resolution was currently a designated representative of the President of the European Parliament, to give extra clout to his supposedly independent judgment against the Senate resolution. MANAFORT never revealed to the Senators or to the American public that any of these lobbyists or Hapsburg Group members were paid by Ukraine.
- 28. In another example, on May 16, 2013, another member of the Hapsburg Group lobbied in the United States for Ukraine. The Hapsburg Group member accompanied his country's prime minister to the Oval Office and met with the President and Vice President of the United States, as well as senior United States officials in the executive and legislative branches. In written

communications sent to MANAFORT, Person D1 reported that the Hapsburg Group member delivered the message of not letting "Russians Steal Ukraine from the West." The Foreign Agents Registration Act required MANAFORT to disclose such lobbying, as MANAFORT knew. He did not.

Law Firm Report and Tymoshenko

- 29. As another part of the lobbying scheme, in 2012, on behalf of President Yanukovych and the Government of Ukraine's Ministry of Justice, MANAFORT solicited a United States law firm to write a report evaluating the trial of Yanukovych's political opponent Yulia Tymoshenko. MANAFORT caused Ukraine to hire the law firm so that its report could be used in the United States and elsewhere to defend the Tymoshenko criminal trial and argue that President Yanukovych and Ukraine had not engaged in selective prosecution.
- 30. MANAFORT retained a public relations firm (Company C) to prepare a media roll-out plan for the law firm report. MANAFORT used one of his offshore accounts to pay Company C the equivalent of more than \$1 million for its services.
- 31. MANAFORT worked closely with Company C to develop a detailed written lobbying plan in connection with what MANAFORT termed the "selling" of the report. This campaign included getting the law firm's report "seeded" to the press in the United States—that is, to leak the report ahead of its official release to a prominent United States newspaper and then use that initial article to influence reporting globally. As part of the roll-out plan, on the report's issuance on December 13, 2012, MANAFORT arranged to have the law firm disseminate hard copies of the report to numerous government officials, including senior United States executive and legislative branch officials.

- 32. MANAFORT reported on the law firm's work on the report and Company C's lobbying plan to President Yanukovych and other representatives of the Government of Ukraine. For example, in a July 27, 2012 memorandum to President Yanukovych's Chief of Staff, MANAFORT reported on "the global rollout strategy for the [law firm's] legal report, and provide[d] a detailed plan of action[]" which included step-by-step lobbying outreach in the United States.
- 33. MANAFORT directed lobbyists to tout the report as showing that President Yanukovych had not selectively prosecuted Tymoshenko. But in November 2012 MANAFORT had been told privately in writing by the law firm that the evidence of Tymoshenko's criminal intent "is virtually non-existent" and that it was unclear even among legal experts that Tymoshenko lacked power to engage in the conduct central to the Ukraine criminal case. These facts, known by MANAFORT, were not disclosed to the public.
- 34. Manafort knew that the report also did not disclose that the law firm, in addition to being retained to write the report, was retained to represent Ukraine itself, including in connection with the Tymoshenko case and to provide training to the trial team prosecuting Tymoshenko.
- 35. MANAFORT also knew that the Government of Ukraine did not want to disclose how much the report cost. More than \$4.6 million was paid to the law firm for its work. MANAFORT used one of his offshore accounts to funnel \$4 million to pay the law firm, a fact that MANAFORT did not disclose to the public. Instead, the Government of Ukraine reported falsely that the report cost just \$12,000.
- 36. MANAFORT and others knew that the actual cost of the report and the scope of the law firm's work would undermine the report's being perceived as an independent assessment and thus being an effective lobbying tool for MANAFORT to use to support the incarceration of President

Yanukovych's political opponent.

37. In addition to the law firm report, MANAFORT took other steps on behalf of the Government of Ukraine to tarnish Tymoshenko in the United States. In addition to disseminating stories about her soliciting murder, noted above, in October 2012, MANAFORT orchestrated a scheme to have, as he wrote in a contemporaneous communication, "[O]bama jews" put pressure on the Administration to disavow Tymoshenko and support Yanukovych. MANAFORT sought to undermine United States support for Tymoshenko by spreading stories in the United States that a senior Cabinet official (who had been a prominent critic of Yanukovych's treatment of Tymoshenko) was supporting anti-Semitism because the official supported Tymoshenko, who in turn had formed a political alliance with a Ukraine party that espoused anti-Semitic views. MANAFORT coordinated privately with a senior Israeli government official to issue a written statement publicizing this story. MANAFORT then, with secret advance knowledge of that Israeli statement, worked to disseminate this story in the United States, writing to Person D1 "I have someone pushing it on the NY Post. Bada bing bada boom." MANAFORT sought to have the Administration understand that "the Jewish community will take this out on Obama on election day if he does nothing." MANAFORT then told his United States lobbyist to inform the Administration that Ukraine had worked to prevent the Administration's presidential opponent from including damaging language in the Israeli statement, so as not to harm the Administration, and thus further ingratiate Yanukovych with the Administration.

Company A and Company B

38. As a third part of the lobbying scheme, in February 2012, MANAFORT solicited two Washington, D.C. lobbying firms (Company A and Company B) to lobby in the United States on

behalf of President Yanukovych, the Party of Regions and the Government of Ukraine. For instance, in early 2012 at the inception of the relationship, Company B wrote in an email to its team about a "potential representation for the Ukraine," having been contacted "at the suggestion of Paul Manafort who has been working on the current PM elections."

- 39. MANAFORT arranged to pay Companies A and B over \$2 million from his offshore accounts for their United States lobbying work for Ukraine.
- 40. MANAFORT provided direction to Companies A and B in their lobbying efforts, including providing support for numerous United States visits by numerous senior Ukrainian officials. Companies A and B, at MANAFORT's direction, engaged in extensive United States lobbying. Among other things, they lobbied dozens of Members of Congress, their staff, and White House and State Department officials about Ukraine sanctions, the validity of Ukraine elections, and the propriety of President Yanukovych's imprisoning Tymoshenko, his presidential rival.
- 41. In addition, with the assistance of Company A, MANAFORT also personally lobbied in the United States. He drafted and edited numerous ghost-written op-eds for publication in United States newspapers. He also personally met in March 2013 in Washington, D.C., with a Member of Congress who was on a subcommittee that had Ukraine within its purview. After the meeting, MANAFORT prepared a report for President Yanukovych that the meeting "went well" and reported a series of positive developments for Ukraine from the meeting.
- 42. Indeed, MANAFORT repeatedly communicated in person and in writing with President Yanukovych and his staff about the lobbying activities of Companies A and B and he tasked the companies to prepare assessments of their work so he, in turn, could brief President Yanukovych. For instance, MANAFORT wrote President Yanukovych a memorandum dated April 8, 2012, in

which he provided an update on the lobbying firms' activities "since the inception of the project a few weeks ago. It is my intention to provide you with a weekly update moving forward." In November 2012, Gates wrote to Companies A and B that the firms needed to prepare an assessment of their past and prospective lobbying efforts so the "President" could be briefed by "Paul" "on what Ukraine has done well and what it can do better as we move into 2013." The resulting memorandum from Companies A and B, with input from Gates, noted among other things that the "client" had not been as successful as hoped given that it had an Embassy in Washington.

- 43. To distance their United States lobbying work from the Government of Ukraine, and to avoid having to register as agents of Ukraine under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, MANAFORT with others arranged for Companies A and B to be engaged by a newly-formed Brussels entity called the European Centre for the Modern Ukraine (the Centre), instead of directly by the Government of Ukraine.
- 44. MANAFORT described the Centre as "the Brussels NGO that we have formed" to coordinate lobbying for Ukraine. The Centre was founded by a Ukraine Party of Regions member and Ukraine First Vice-Prime Minister. The head of its Board was another member of the Party of Regions, who became the Ukraine Foreign Minister.
- 45. In spite of these ties to Ukraine, MANAFORT and others arranged for the Centre to represent falsely that it was not "directly or indirectly supervised, directed, [or] controlled" in whole or in major part by the Government of Ukraine or the Party of Regions. MANAFORT knew that the false and misleading representations would lead Companies A and B not to register their activities pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.
- 46. Despite the Centre being the ostensible client of Companies A and B, MANAFORT knew

that the Centre did not direct or oversee their work. The firms received direction from MANAFORT and his subordinate Gates, on behalf of the Government of Ukraine.

47. Various employees of Companies A and B understood that they were receiving direction from MANAFORT and President Yanukovych, not the Centre, which was not even operational when Companies A and B began lobbying for Ukraine. MANAFORT, Gates, and employees of both Companies A and B referred to the client in ways that made clear they knew it was Ukraine, for instance noting that the "client" had an Embassy in Washington D.C. The head of Company B told his team to think the President of Ukraine "is the client." As a Company A employee noted to another company employee: the lobbying for the Centre was "in name only. [Y]ou've gotta see through the nonsense of that[.]" "It's like Alice in Wonderland." An employee of Company B described the Centre as a fig leaf, and the Centre's written certification that it was not related to the Party of Regions as "a fig leaf on a fig leaf," referring to the Centre in an email as the "European hot dog stand for a Modern Ukraine."

Conspiring to Obstruct Justice: False and Misleading Submissions to the Department of Justice

48. In September 2016, after numerous press reports concerning MANAFORT had appeared in August, the Department of Justice National Security Division informed MANAFORT, Gates, and DMI in writing that it sought to determine whether they had acted as agents of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, without registering. In November 2016 and February 2017, MANAFORT and Gates conspired to knowingly and intentionally cause false and misleading letters to be submitted to the Department of Justice, through his unwitting legal counsel. The letters, both of which were approved by MANAFORT before they were submitted by his counsel, represented falsely, among other things, that:

- a. DMI's "efforts on behalf of the Party of Regions" "did not include meetings or outreach within the U.S.";
- b. MANAFORT did not "recall meeting with or conducting outreach to U.S. government officials or U.S. media outlets on behalf of the [Centre], nor do they recall being party to, arranging, or facilitating any such communications. Rather, it is the recollection and understanding of Messrs. Gates and Manafort that such communications would have been facilitated and conducted by the [Centre's] U.S. consultants, as directed by the [Centre]...";
- c. MANAFORT had merely served as a means of introduction of Company A and Company B to the Centre and provided the Centre with a list of "potential U.S.-based consultants—including [Company A] and [Company B]—for the [Centre's] reference and further consideration"; and
- d. DMI "does not retain communications beyond thirty days" and as a result of this policy, a "search has returned no responsive documents." The November 2016 letter attached a one-page, undated document that purported to be a DMI "Email Retention Policy."
- 49. In fact, MANAFORT had: selected Companies A and B; engaged in weekly scheduled calls and frequent emails with Companies A and B to provide them directions as to specific lobbying steps that should be taken; sought and received detailed oral and written reports from these firms on the lobbying work they had performed; communicated with Yanukovych to brief him on their lobbying efforts; both congratulated and reprimanded Companies A and B on their lobbying work; communicated directly with United States officials in connection with this work; and paid the

lobbying firms over \$2.5 million from offshore accounts he controlled, among other things.

50. Although MANAFORT had represented to the Department of Justice in November 2016 and February 2017 that he had no relevant documents, in fact MANAFORT had numerous incriminating documents in his possession, as he knew at the time. The Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted a court-authorized search of MANAFORT'S home in Virginia in the summer of 2017. The documents attached hereto as Government Exhibits 503, 504, 517, 532, 594, 604, 606, 616, 691, 692, 697, 706 and 708, among numerous others, were all documents that MANAFORT had in his possession, custody or control (and were found in the search) and all predated the November 2016 letter.

Money Laundering Conspiracy

51. In or around and between 2006 and 2016, MANAFORT, together with others, did knowingly and intentionally conspire (a) to conduct financial transactions, affecting interstate and foreign commerce, which involved the proceeds of specified unlawful activity, to wit, felony violations of FARA in violation of Title 22, United States Code, Sections 612 and 618, knowing that the property involved in the financial transactions represented proceeds of some form of unlawful activity, with intent to engage in conduct constituting a violation of sections 7201 and 7206 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986; and (b) to transport, transmit, and transfer monetary instruments and funds from places outside the United States to and through places in the United States and from places in the United States to and through places outside the United States, with the intent to promote the carrying on of specified unlawful activity, to wit: a felony violation of FARA, in violation of Title 22, United States Code, Sections 612 and 618, contrary to Title 18, United States Code, Section 1956(a)(1)(A)(ii) and (a)(2)(A).

52. MANAFORT caused the following transfers to be made, knowing that they were being made to entities to carry on activities that were required to be timely reported under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, but were not:

Payee			Country Origin	of Destination	Amount (USD)	
	8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$270,000.00
	10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$90,000.00
	11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$120,000.00
	11/20/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$182,968.07
	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$25,000.00
any A	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Hellenic Bank Account -2501	Cyprus	US	\$90,000.00
Company A	9/18/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	,		US	\$135,937.37
	10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$167,689.40
	3/28/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$135,639.65
	4/3/2014	Jeunet Ltd. Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978		SVG*	US	\$82,979.93
Total	Company A	Transfers				\$1,300,214.42
	5/30/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$130,000.00
ny B	8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$195,000.00
Company B	10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$130,000.00
)	11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$50,000.00

Payee	Date	Payer	Originating	Country of		Amount
			Bank Account	Origin	Destination	(USD)
	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$54,649.51
	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Hellenic Bank Account -2501	Cyprus	US	\$150,000.00
	9/3/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$175,857.51
	10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$195,857.51
	3/12/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$26,891.78
	3/21/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$138,026.00
	4/15/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$4,728.81
	4/25/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$4,739.23
Total	Company B	Transfers				\$1,255,750.35
Y I	4/19/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$2,000,000.00
Law Firm A			Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$1,000,000.00
Law	7/13/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$1,000,000.00
Total	Law Firm A	Fransfers				\$4,000,000.00
TOTA	AL TRANSFE	RS				\$6,555,964.77

^{*} SVG refers to St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

MANAFORT's Hiding Of Foreign Bank Accounts And False Tax Filings

53. United States citizens who have authority over certain foreign bank accounts—whether or not the accounts are set up in the names of nominees who act for their principals—have reporting

obligations to the United States.

- 54. First, the Bank Secrecy Act and its implementing regulations require United States citizens to report to the United States Treasury any financial interest in, or signatory authority over, any bank account or other financial account held in foreign countries, for every calendar year in which the aggregate balance of all such foreign accounts exceeds \$10,000 at any point during the year. This is commonly known as a foreign bank account report or "FBAR." The Bank Secrecy Act requires these reports because they have a high degree of usefulness in criminal, tax, or regulatory investigations or proceedings. The United States Treasury's Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN) is the custodian for FBAR fillings, and FinCEN provides access to its FBAR database to law enforcement entities, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The reports filed by individuals and businesses are used by law enforcement to identify, detect, and deter money laundering that furthers criminal enterprise activity, tax evasion, and other unlawful activities.
- 55. Second, United States citizens also are obligated to report information to the IRS regarding foreign bank accounts. For instance, in 2010 Form 1040, Schedule B had a "Yes" or "No" box to record an answer to the question: "At any time during [the calendar year], did you have an interest in or a signature or other authority over a financial account in a foreign country, such as a bank account, securities account, or other financial account?" If the answer was "Yes," then the form required the taxpayer to enter the name of the foreign country in which the financial account was located.
- 56. For each year in or about and between 2007 through at least 2014, MANAFORT had authority over foreign accounts that required an FBAR report. Specifically, MANAFORT was

required to report to the United States Treasury each foreign bank account held by the foreign MANAFORT entities noted above in paragraph 10. No FBAR reports were made by MANAFORT for these accounts.

57. Furthermore, in each of MANAFORT's tax filings for 2007 through 2014, Manafort represented falsely that he did not have authority over any foreign bank accounts. MANAFORT had repeatedly and falsely represented in writing to MANAFORT's tax preparer that MANAFORT had no authority over foreign bank accounts, knowing that such false representations would result in false MANAFORT tax filings. For instance, on October 4, 2011, MANAFORT's tax preparer asked MANAFORT in writing: "At any time during 2010, did you [or your wife or children] have an interest in or a signature or other authority over a financial account in a foreign country, such as a bank account, securities account or other financial account?" On the same day, MANAFORT falsely responded "NO." MANAFORT responded the same way as recently as October 3, 2016, when MANAFORT's tax preparer again emailed the question in connection with the preparation of MANAFORT's tax returns: "Foreign bank accounts etc.?" MANAFORT responded on or about the same day: "NONE."

MANAFORT's Fraud To Increase Access To Offshore Money

- 58. After MANAFORT used his offshore accounts to purchase real estate in the United States, he took out mortgages on the properties thereby allowing MANAFORT to have the benefits of liquid income without paying taxes on it. Further, MANAFORT defrauded the banks that loaned him the money so that he could withdraw more money at a cheaper rate than he otherwise would have been permitted.
- 59. In 2012, MANAFORT, through a corporate vehicle called "MC Soho Holdings, LLC"

owned by him and his family, bought a condominium on Howard Street in the Soho neighborhood in Manhattan, New York. He paid approximately \$2,850,000. All the money used to purchase the condominium came from MANAFORT entities in Cyprus. MANAFORT used the property from at least January 2015 through 2016 as an income-generating rental property, charging thousands of dollars a week on Airbnb, among other places. In his tax returns, MANAFORT took advantage of the beneficial tax consequences of owning this rental property.

60. Also in 2012, MANAFORT -- through a corporate vehicle called "MC Brooklyn Holdings, LLC" similarly owned by him and his family -- bought a brownstone on Union Street in the Carroll Gardens section of Brooklyn, New York. He paid approximately \$3,000,000 in cash for the property. All of that money came from a MANAFORT entity in Cyprus.

COUNT ONE

Conspiracy Against The United States

- 61. Paragraphs 1 through 60 are incorporated here.
- 62. From in or about and between 2006 and 2017, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, the defendant PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., together with others, including Gates and Kilimnik, knowingly and intentionally conspired to defraud the United States by impeding, impairing, obstructing, and defeating the lawful governmental functions of a government agency, namely the Department of Justice and the Department of the Treasury, and to commit offenses against the United States, to wit, (a) money laundering (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1956); (b) tax fraud (in violation of 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1)); (c) failing to file Foreign Bank Account Reports (in violation of 31 U.S.C. §§ 5312 and 5322(b)); (d) violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act (in violation of 22 U.S.C. §§ 612, 618(a)(1), and 618(a)(2));

and (e) lying and misrepresenting to the Department of Justice (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a) and 22 U.S.C. §§ 612 and 618(a)(2)).

63. In furtherance of the conspiracy and to effect its illegal object, MANAFORT, together with others, committed the overt acts, in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, as set forth in the paragraphs above, which are incorporated herein.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT TWO

Conspiracy to Obstruct Justice (Witness Tampering)

- 64. Paragraphs 1 through 60 are incorporated here.
- 65. From in or about and between February 23, 2018 and April 2018, both dates being approximate and inclusive, within the District of Columbia and elsewhere, the defendant PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., together with others, including Konstantin Kilimnik, knowingly and intentionally conspired to corruptly persuade another person, to wit: Persons D1 and D2, with intent to influence, delay and prevent the testimony of any person in an official proceeding, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1512(b)(1).
- 66. On February 22, 2018, MANAFORT was charged in the District of Columbia in a Superseding Indictment that for the first time included allegations about the Hapsburg Group and MANAFORT's use of that group to lobby illegally in the United States in violation of the Foreign Agent Registration Act. MANAFORT knew that the Act prescribed only United States lobbying. Immediately after February 22, 2018, MANAFORT began reaching out directly and indirectly to Persons D1 and D2 to induce them to say falsely that they did not work in the United States as part

of the lobbying campaign, even though MANAFORT then and there well knew that they did lobby in the United States.

67. MANAFORT committed the following overt acts directly and through his conspirators.

Date/Time*	Sender	Receiver	Event
MAN	AFORT contacted	Person D1 by	phone and a messaging application:
2/24/2018; 15:51 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
2/24/2018; 15:51 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call: 1 min, 24 second call.
2/24/2018; 15:53 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "This is paul"
2/25/2018; 18:41 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
2/26/2018; 23:56 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "http://www.businessinsider.com/former- european-leaders-manafort-hapsburg-group- 2018-2?r=UK&IR=T"
2/26/2018; 23:57 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "We should talk. I have made clear that they worked in Europe."
2/27/2018; 11:03 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
2/27/2018; 11:31 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
Kilimnii	k contacted Person	n D2 a messag	ing application, sending four messages:
2/28/2018; 01:49 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"[Person D2], hi! How are you? Hope you are doing fine. ;))"
2/28/2018; 01:51 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"My friend P is trying to reach [Person D1] to brief him on what's going on."
2/28/2018; 01:51 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"If you have a chance to mention this to [Person D1] - would be great"

Date/Time*	Sender	Receiver	Event
2/28/2018; 01:53 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Basically P wants to give him a quick summary that he says to everybody (which is true) that our friends never lobbied in the US, and the purpose of the program was EU"
Kilimnik contact	ed Person D2 u	sing a different	messaging application, sending five messages:
2/28/2018; 06:01 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey, how are you? This is K."
2/28/2018; 06:01(CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hope you are doing fine."
2/28/2018; 06:01 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"My friend P is trying to reach [Person D1] to brief him on what's going on"
2/28/2018; 06:02 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Basically P wants to give him a quick summary that he says to everybody (which is true) that our friends never lobbied in the US, and the purpose of the program was EU"
2/28/2018; 06:03 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"If you have a chance to mention this to [First Initial of Person D1's Name] it would be great. It would be good to get them connected to discuss in person. P is his friend."
Kilimnik cont	acted Person D	2 using two diff	ferent applications, sending three messages:
4/4/2018; 08:53 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey. This is Konstantin. My friend P asked me again to help connect him with [Person D1]. Can you help?"
4/4/2018; 08:54 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey. My friend P has asked me again if there is any way to help connect him through [Person D1]"
4/4/2018; 08:54 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"I tried him on all numbers."
	Kilimnik contac	ted Person D1	using a messaging application:
4/4/2018; 13:00 (UTC)	Kilimnik	Person D1	"Hi. This is K. My friend P is looking for ways to connect to you to pass you several messages. Can we arrange that."

^{*}UTC and CEST refer to Coordinated Universal Time and Central European Summer Time, respectively.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 3551 et seq.)

FORFEITURE ALLEGATIONS

- 68. Upon conviction of the offense charged in Count One, the defendant PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., shall forfeit to the United States any property, real or personal, involved in such offense, and any property traceable to such property, and any property, real or personal, which constitutes or is derived from proceeds traceable to the offense, pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Sections 981(a)(1)(A), 981(a)(1)(C), and 982(a)(1), and Title 28, United States Code, Section 2461(c). The United States will also seek a judgment against the defendant for a sum of money representing the property described in this paragraph (to be offset by the forfeiture of any specific property).
- 69. The property subject to forfeiture by PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., includes, but is not limited to, the following listed assets:
 - a. The real property and premises commonly known as 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New York 11231 (Block 429, Lot 65), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
 - b. The real property and premises commonly known as 29 Howard Street, #4D, New York, New York 10013 (Block 209, Lot 1104), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
 - c. The real property and premises commonly known as 174 Jobs Lane, Water Mill, New York 11976, including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;

- d. All funds held in account number XXXXXX0969 at The Federal Savings Bank, and any property traceable thereto;
- e. All funds seized from account number XXXXXX1388 at Capital One N.A., and any property traceable thereto; and
- f. All funds seized from account number XXXXXX9952 at The Federal Savings Bank, and any property traceable thereto;
- g. Northwestern Mutual Universal Life Insurance Policy 18268327, and any property traceable thereto;
- h. All funds held in account number XXXX7988 at Charles A. Schwab & Co. Inc., and any property traceable thereto; and
- i. The real property and premises commonly known as 1046 N. Edgewood Street, Arlington, Virginia 22201, including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto.

Substitute Assets

- 70. If any of the property described above as being subject to forfeiture, as a result of any act or omission of the defendant
 - a. cannot be located upon the exercise of due diligence;
 - b. has been transferred or sold to, or deposited with, a third party;
 - c. has been placed beyond the jurisdiction of the court;
 - d. has been substantially diminished in value; or
 - e. has been commingled with other property that cannot be subdivided without difficulty;

it is the intent of the United States of America, pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Section 982(b) and Title 28, United States Code, Section 2461(c), incorporating Title 21, United States Code, Section 853, to seek forfeiture of any other property of said defendant.

By:

Robert S. Mueller, III

Special Counsel

Department of Justice

ATTACHMENT B

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U.S. Department of Justice The Special Counsel's Office

Washington, D.C. 20530 September 13, 2018

Kevin M. Downing, Esq. Law Office of Kevin M. Downing 601 New Jersey Avenue NW Suite 620 Washington, DC 20001

FILED SEP 14 2018

Clerk, U.S. District & Bankruptcy Courts for the District of Columbia

Thomas E. Zehnle, Esq. Law Office of Thomas E. Zehnle 601 New Jersey Avenue NW Suite 620 Washington, DC 20001

Richard W. Westling, Esq Epstein Becker Green 1227 25th Street NW Suite 700 Washington, DC 20037

Re: United States v. Paul J. Manafort, Jr., Crim. No. 17-201- (ABJ)

Dear Counsel:

This letter sets forth the full and complete plea offer to your client Paul J. Manafort, Jr. (hereinafter referred to as "your client" or "defendant") from the Special Counsel's Office (hereinafter also referred to as "the Government" or "this Office"). If your client accepts the terms and conditions of this offer, please have your client execute this document in the space provided below. Upon receipt of the executed document, this letter will become the Plea Agreement (hereinafter referred to as the "Agreement"). The terms of the offer are as follows.

1. Charges and Statutory Penalties

Your client agrees to plead guilty in the above-captioned case to all elements of all objects of all the charges in a Superseding Criminal Information, which will encompass the charges in Counts One and Two of a Superseding Criminal Information, charging your client with:

A. conspiracy against the United States, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371 (which includes a conspiracy to: (a) money launder (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1956); (b) commit tax fraud



(in violation of 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1)); (c) fail to file Foreign Bank Account Reports (in violation of 31 U.S.C. §§ 5314 and 5322(b)); (d) violate the Foreign Agents Registration Act (in violation of 22 U.S.C. §§ 612, 618(a)(1), and 618(a)(2)); and (e) to lie to the Department of Justice (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a) and 22 U.S.C. §§ 612 and 618(a)(2)); and

B. conspiracy against the United States, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371, to wit: conspiracy to obstruct justice by tampering with witnesses while on pre-trial release (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1512).

The defendant also agrees not to appeal any trial or pre-trial issue in the Eastern District of Virginia, or to challenge in the district court any such issue, and admits in the attached "Statement of the Offense" his guilt of the remaining counts against him in <u>United States v. Paul J. Manafort, Jr.</u>, Crim. No. 1:18-cr-83 (TSE) (hereafter "Eastern District of Virginia.") A copy of the Superseding Criminal Information and Statement of the Offense are attached.

Your client understands that each violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371 carries a maximum sentence of 5 years' imprisonment; a fine of not more than \$250,000, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3571(b)(3); a term of supervised release of not more than 3 years, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3583(b)(2); and an obligation to pay any applicable interest or penalties on fines and restitution not timely made, and forfeiture.

In addition, your client agrees to pay a mandatory special assessment of \$200 to the Clerk of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. Your client also understands that, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3572 and § 5E1.2 of the United States Sentencing Guidelines, *Guidelines Manual* (2016) (hereinafter "Sentencing Guidelines," "Guidelines," or "U.S.S.G."), the Court may also impose a fine that is sufficient to pay the federal government the costs of any imprisonment, term of supervised release, and period of probation.

2. Factual Stipulations

Your client agrees that the attached Statement of the Offense fairly and accurately describes and summarizes your client's actions and involvement in the offenses to which your client is pleading guilty, as well as crimes charged in the Eastern District of Virginia that remain outstanding, as well as additional acts taken by him. Please have your client sign and return the Statement of the Offense, along with this Agreement.

3. Additional Charges

In consideration of your client's guilty plea to the above offenses, and upon the completion of full cooperation as described herein and fulfillment of all the other obligations herein, no additional criminal charges will be brought against the defendant for his heretofore disclosed participation in criminal activity, including money laundering, false statements, personal and corporate tax and FBAR offenses, bank fraud, Foreign Agents Registration Act violations for his work in Ukraine, and obstruction of justice. In addition, subject to the terms of this Agreement, at the time of sentence or at the completion of his successful cooperation, whichever is later, the Government will move to dismiss the remaining counts of the Indictment

My

in this matter and in the Eastern District of Virginia and your client waives venue as to such charges in the event he breaches this Agreement. Your client also waives all rights under the Speedy Trial act as to any outstanding charges.

4. Sentencing Guidelines Analysis

Your client understands that the sentence in this case will be determined by the Court, pursuant to the factors set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), including a consideration of the applicable guidelines and policies set forth in the Sentencing Guidelines. Pursuant to Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 11(c)(1)(B), and to assist the Court in determining the appropriate sentence, the Office estimates the Guidelines as follows:

A. Estimated Offense Level Under the Guidelines

Base offense level	+8	2S1.1(a) Base Offense Level: (1) The offense level for the underlying offense from which the laundered funds were derived, if (A) the defendant committed the underlying offense (or would be accountable for the underlying offense under subsection (a)(1)(A) of §1B1.3 (Relevant Conduct)); and (B) the offense level for that offense can be determined; or (2) 8 plus the number of offense levels from the table in §2B1.1 (Theft, Property Destruction, and Fraud) corresponding to the value of the laundered funds, otherwise.
	+22	Using more than \$25 million threshold under 2B1.1
Enhancement	+2	2S1.1(b)(2)(B) permits enhancement for 2 points if the conviction is pursuant to §1956.
Enhancement	+2	2S1.1(b)(3) adds two points for sophisticated laundering (which the guidelines lists as involving shell corporations and offshore financial accounts.
Enhancement:	+4	3B1.1(a) aggravating role -5 or more participants or otherwise extensive
Enhancement:	+2	3C1.1 obstruction
Combined Offense level	+0	3D1.4
Acceptance:	-3	3E1.1(b) acceptance of responsibility
Total for Counts One and Two:	37	Advisory guidelines range of 210-262

The defendant agrees that all of the Sentencing Guidelines for money laundering applicable to charges brought under 18 U.S.C. § 1956 apply to Count One of the Superseding Criminal Information brought under 18 U.S.C. § 371.

For the purposes of the Sentencing Guidelines analysis, the government calculates the highest guideline range among the offenses, namely the object of the conspiracy to violate Title 18 U.S.C. § 1956. The defendant's estimated guideline range for Count Two, the conspiracy to obstruct justice, is 30 (before any reduction for acceptance of responsibility), and would be grouped with Count One pursuant to §3D1.2(c).

B. Acceptance of Responsibility

The Government agrees that a 2-level reduction will be appropriate, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 3E1.1, provided that your client clearly demonstrates acceptance of responsibility, to the satisfaction of the Government, through your client's allocution, adherence to every provision of this Agreement, and conduct between entry of the plea and imposition of sentence. If the defendant has accepted responsibility as described above, and if the defendant pleads guilty on or before September 14, 2018, subject to the availability of the Court, an additional one-level reduction will be warranted, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 3E1.1(b).

Nothing in this Agreement limits the right of the Government to seek denial of the adjustment for acceptance of responsibility, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 3E1.1, and/or imposition of an adjustment for obstruction of justice, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 3C1.1, regardless of any agreement set forth herein, should your client move to withdraw his guilty plea after it is entered, or should it be determined by the Government that your client has either (a) engaged in conduct, unknown to the Government at the time of the signing of this Agreement, that constitutes obstruction of justice, or (b) engaged in additional criminal conduct after signing this Agreement.

In accordance with the above, the applicable Guidelines Offense Level will be at least 37.

C. Estimated Criminal History Category

Based upon the information now available to this Office, your client has no criminal convictions, other than in the Eastern District of Virginia. Your client acknowledges that depending on when he is sentenced here and how the Guidelines are interpreted, he may have a criminal history. If additional convictions are discovered during the pre-sentence investigation by the United States Probation Office, your client's criminal history points may increase.

D. Estimated Applicable Guidelines Range

Based upon the total offense level and the estimated criminal history category set forth above, the Office calculates your client's estimated Sentencing Guidelines range is 210 months to 262 months' imprisonment (the "Estimated Guidelines Range"). In addition, the Office calculates that, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 5E1.2, should the Court impose a fine, at Guidelines level

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37, the estimated applicable fine range is \$40,000 to \$400,000. Your client reserves the right to ask the Court not to impose any applicable fine.

Your client agrees that, solely for the purposes of calculating the applicable range under the Sentencing Guidelines, a downward departure from the Estimated Guidelines Range set forth above is not warranted, subject to the paragraphs regarding cooperation below. Accordingly, you will not seek any departure or adjustment to the Estimated Guidelines Range set forth above, nor suggest that the Court consider such a departure or adjustment for any other reason other than those specified above. Your client also reserves the right to disagree with the Estimated Guideline Range calculated by the Office with respect to role in the offense. However, your client understands and acknowledges that the Estimated Guidelines Range agreed to by the Office is not binding on the Probation Office or the Court. Should the Court or Probation Office determine that a different guidelines range is applicable, your client will not be permitted to withdraw his guilty plea on that basis, and the Government and your client will still be bound by this Agreement.

Your client understands and acknowledges that the terms of this section apply only to conduct that occurred before the execution of this Agreement. Should your client engage in any conduct after the execution of this Agreement that would form the basis for an increase in your client's base offense level or justify an upward departure (examples of which include, but are not limited to, obstruction of justice, failure to appear for a court proceeding, criminal conduct while pending sentencing, and false statements to law enforcement agents, the probation officer, or the Court), the Government is free under this Agreement to seek an increase in the base offense level based on that post-agreement conduct.

5. Agreement as to Sentencing Allocution

Based upon the information known to the Government at the time of the signing of this Agreement, the parties further agree that a sentence within the Estimated Guidelines Range (or below) would constitute a reasonable sentence in light of all of the factors set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), should such a sentence be subject to appellate review notwithstanding the appeal waiver provided below.

6. Reservation of Allocution

The Government and your client reserve the right to describe fully, both orally and in writing, to the sentencing judge, the nature and seriousness of your client's misconduct, including any misconduct not described in the charge to which your client is pleading guilty.

The parties also reserve the right to inform the presentence report writer and the Courts of any relevant facts, to dispute any factual inaccuracies in the presentence report, and to contest any matters not provided for in this Agreement. In the event that the Courts considers any Sentencing Guidelines adjustments, departures, or calculations different from any agreements contained in this Agreement, or contemplates a sentence outside the Guidelines range based upon the general sentencing factors listed in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), the parties reserve the right to answer any related inquiries from the Courts. In addition, your client acknowledges that the

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Government is not obligated to file any post-sentence downward departure motion in this case pursuant to Rule 35(b) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

7. Court Not Bound by this Agreement or the Sentencing Guidelines

Your client understands that the sentence in this case will be imposed in accordance with 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), upon consideration of the Sentencing Guidelines. Your client further understands that the sentence to be imposed is a matter solely within the discretion of the Courts. Your client acknowledges that the Courts are not obligated to follow any recommendation of the Government at the time of sentencing or to grant a downward departure based on your client's substantial assistance to the Government, even if the Government files a motion pursuant to Section 5K1.1 of the Sentencing Guidelines. Your client understands that neither the Government's recommendation nor the Sentencing Guidelines are binding on the Courts.

Your client acknowledges that your client's entry of a guilty plea to the charged offenses authorizes the Court to impose any sentence, up to and including the statutory maximum sentence, which may be greater than the applicable Guidelines range determined by the Court. Although the parties agree that the sentences here and in the Eastern District of Virginia should run concurrently to the extent there is factual overlap (i.e. the tax and foreign bank account charges), that recommendation is not binding on either Court. The Government cannot, and does not, make any promise or representation as to what sentences your client will receive. Moreover, your client acknowledges that your client will have no right to withdraw your client's plea of guilty should the Courts impose sentences that are outside the Guidelines range or if the Courts do not follow the Government's sentencing recommendation. The Government and your client will be bound by this Agreement, regardless of the sentence imposed by the Courts. Any effort by your client to withdraw the guilty plea because of the length of the sentence shall constitute a breach of this Agreement.

8. Cooperation

Your client shall cooperate fully, truthfully, completely, and forthrightly with the Government and other law enforcement authorities identified by the Government in any and all matters as to which the Government deems the cooperation relevant. This cooperation will include, but is not limited to, the following:

- (a) The defendant agrees to be fully debriefed and to attend all meetings at which his presence is requested, concerning his participation in and knowledge of all criminal activities.
- (b) The defendant agrees to furnish to the Government all documents and other material that may be relevant to the investigation and that are in the defendant's possession or control and to participate in undercover activities pursuant to the specific instructions of law enforcement agents or the Government.
- (c) The defendant agrees to testify at any proceeding in the District of Colombia or elsewhere as requested by the Government.

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- (d) The defendant consents to adjournments of his sentences as requested by the Government.
- (e) The defendant agrees that all of the defendant's obligations under this agreement continue after the defendant is sentenced here and in the Eastern District of Virginia; and
- (f) The defendant must at all times give complete, truthful, and accurate information and testimony, and must not commit, or attempt to commit, any further crimes.

Your client acknowledges and understands that, during the course of the cooperation outlined in this Agreement, your client will be interviewed by law enforcement agents and/or Government attorneys. Your client waives any right to have counsel present during these interviews and agrees to meet with law enforcement agents and Government attorneys outside of the presence of counsel. If, at some future point, you or your client desire to have counsel present during interviews by law enforcement agents and/or Government attorneys, and you communicate this decision in writing to this Office, this Office will honor this request, and this change will have no effect on any other terms and conditions of this Agreement.

Your client shall testify fully, completely and truthfully before any and all Grand Juries in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, and at any and all trials of cases or other court proceedings in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, at which your client's testimony may be deemed relevant by the Government.

Your client understands and acknowledges that nothing in this Agreement allows your client to commit any criminal violation of local, state or federal law during the period of your client's cooperation with law enforcement authorities or at any time prior to the sentencing in this case. The commission of a criminal offense during the period of your client's cooperation or at any time prior to sentencing will constitute a breach of this Agreement and will relieve the Government of all of its obligations under this Agreement, including, but not limited to, its obligation to inform this Court of any assistance your client has provided. However, your client acknowledges and agrees that such a breach of this Agreement will not entitle your client to withdraw your client's plea of guilty or relieve your client of the obligations under this Agreement.

Your client agrees that the sentencing in this case and in the Eastern District of Virginia may be delayed until your client's efforts to cooperate have been completed, as determined by the Government, so that the Courts will have the benefit of all relevant information before a sentence is imposed.

9. Government's Obligations

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The Government will bring to the Courts' attention at the time of sentencing the nature and extent of your client's cooperation or lack of cooperation. The Government will evaluate the full nature and extent of your client's cooperation to determine whether your client has provided substantial assistance in the investigation or prosecution of another person who has committed an offense. If this Office determines that the defendant has provided substantial assistance in the form of truthful information and, where applicable, testimony, the Office will file motions pursuant to Section 5K1.1 of the United States Sentencing Guidelines. Defendant will then be free to argue for any sentence below the advisory Sentencing Guidelines range calculated by the Probation Office, including probation.

10. Waivers

A. Venue

Your client waives any challenge to venue in the District of Columbia.

B. Statute of Limitations

Your client agrees that, should any plea or conviction following your client's pleas of guilty pursuant to this Agreement, or the guilty verdicts in the Eastern District of Virginia, be vacated, set aside, or dismissed for any reason (other than by government motion as set forth herein), any prosecution based on the conduct set forth in the attached Statement of the Offense, as well as any crimes that the Government has agreed not to prosecute or to dismiss pursuant to this Agreement, that is not time-barred by the applicable statute of limitations on the date of the signing of this Agreement, may be commenced or reinstated against your client, notwithstanding the expiration of the statute of limitations between the signing of this Agreement and the commencement or reinstatement of such prosecution. It is the intent of this Agreement to waive all defenses based on the statute of limitations with respect to any prosecution of conduct set forth in the attached Statement of the Offense, or any other crimes that the Government has agreed not to prosecute, that are not time-barred on the date that this Agreement is signed. The Office and any other party will be free to use against your client, directly and indirectly, in any criminal or civil proceeding, all statements made by your client, including the Statement of the Offense, and any of the information or materials provided by your client, including such statements, information, and materials provided pursuant to this Agreement or during the course of any debriefings conducted in anticipation of, or after entry of, this Agreement, whether or not the debriefings were previously a part of proffer-protected debriefings, and your client's statements made during proceedings before the Court pursuant to Rule 11 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

C. Trial and Other Rights

Your client understands that by pleading guilty in this case your client agrees to waive certain rights afforded by the Constitution of the United States and/or by statute or rule. Your client agrees to forgo the right to any further discovery or disclosures of information not already provided at the time of the entry of your client's guilty plea. Your client also agrees to waive,

among other rights, the right to be indicted by a Grand Jury, the right to plead not guilty, and the right to a jury trial. If there were a jury trial, your client would have the right to be represented by counsel, to confront and cross-examine witnesses against your client, to challenge the admissibility of evidence offered against your client, to compel witnesses to appear for the purpose of testifying and presenting other evidence on your client's behalf, and to choose whether to testify. If there were a jury trial and your client chose not to testify at that trial, your client would have the right to have the jury instructed that your client's failure to testify could not be held against your client. Your client would further have the right to have the jury instructed that your client is presumed innocent until proven guilty, and that the burden would be on the United States to prove your client's guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. If your client were found guilty after a trial, your client would have the right to appeal your client's conviction. Your client understands that the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States protects your client from the use of compelled self-incriminating statements in a criminal prosecution. By entering a plea of guilty, your client knowingly and voluntarily waives or gives up your client's right against compelled self-incrimination.

Your client acknowledges discussing with you Rule 11(f) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure and Rule 410 of the Federal Rules of Evidence, which ordinarily limit the admissibility of statements made by a defendant in the course of plea discussions or plea proceedings if a guilty plea is later withdrawn. Your client knowingly and voluntarily hereby waives the rights that arise under these rules to object to the use of all such statements by him on and after September 10, 2018, in the event your client breaches this agreement, withdraws his guilty plea, or seeks to withdraw from this Agreement after signing it. This Agreement supersedes the proffer agreement between the Government and the client.

Your client also agrees to waive all constitutional and statutory rights to a speedy sentence and agrees that the pleas of guilty pursuant to this Agreement will be entered at a time decided upon by the parties with the concurrence of the Court. Your client understands that the date for sentencing will be set by the Courts.

Your client agrees not to accept remuneration or compensation of any sort, directly or indirectly, for the dissemination through any means, including but not limited to books, articles, speeches, blogs, podcasts, and interviews, however disseminated, regarding the conduct encompassed by the Statement of the Offense, or the investigation by the Office or prosecution of any criminal or civil cases against him.

D. Appeal Rights

Your client understands that federal law, specifically 18 U.S.C. § 3742, affords defendants the right to appeal their sentences in certain circumstances. Your client agrees to waive the right to appeal the sentences in this case and the Eastern District of Virginia, including but not limited to any term of imprisonment, fine, forfeiture, award of restitution, term or condition of supervised release, authority of the Courts to set conditions of release, and the manner in which the sentences were determined, except to the extent the Courts sentence your client above the statutory maximum or guidelines range determined by the Courts or your client claims that your client received ineffective assistance of counsel, in which case your client would

have the right to appeal the illegal sentence or above-guidelines sentence or raise on appeal a claim of ineffective assistance of counsel, but not to raise on appeal other issues regarding the sentencings. In agreeing to this waiver, your client is aware that your client's sentences have yet to be determined by the Courts. Realizing the uncertainty in estimating what sentences the Courts ultimately will impose, your client knowingly and willingly waives your client's right to appeal the sentence, to the extent noted above, in exchange for the concessions made by the Government in this Agreement.

E. Collateral Attack

Your client also waives any right to challenge the conviction entered or sentence imposed under this Agreement or in the Eastern District of Virginia or otherwise attempt to modify or change the sentences or the manner in which they were determined in any collateral attack, including, but not limited to, a motion brought under 28 U.S.C. § 2255 or Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 60(b), except to the extent such a motion is based on a claim that your client received ineffective assistance of counsel.

Your client agrees that with respect to all charges referred to herein he is not a "prevailing party" within the meaning of the "Hyde Amendment," 18 U.S.C. § 3006A note, and will not file any claim under that law.

F. Privacy Act and FOIA Rights

Your client also agrees to waive all rights, whether asserted directly or by a representative, to request or receive from any department or agency of the United States any records pertaining to the investigation or prosecution of this case, including and without limitation any records that may be sought under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552, or the Privacy Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552a, for the duration of the Special Counsel's investigation.

11. Restitution

Your client understands that the Court has an obligation to determine whether, and in what amount, mandatory restitution applies in this case under 18 U.S.C. § 3663A. The Government and your client agree that mandatory restitution does not apply in this case.

12. Forfeiture

- a) Your client agrees to the forfeiture set forth in the Forfeiture Allegations in the Superseding Criminal Information to which your client is pleading guilty. Your client further agrees to forfeit criminally and civilly the following properties (collectively, the "Forfeited Assets") to the United States pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Sections 981(a)(1)(A), 981(a)(1)(C), 982(a)(1), 982(a)(2); Title 21, United States Code, Section 853(p), and Title 28 U.S.C. § 2461(c), and further agrees to waive all interest in such assets in any administrative or judicial forfeiture proceeding, whether criminal or civil, state or federal:
 - 1) The real property and premises commonly known as 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New

- York 11231 (Block 429, Lot 65), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- 2) The real property and premises commonly known as 29 Howard Street, #4D, New York, New York 10013 (Block 209, Lot 1104), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- 3) The real property and premises commonly known as 174 Jobs Lane, Water Mill, New York 11976, including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- 4) All funds held in account number property traceable thereto; 0969 at The Federal Savings Bank, and any
- 5) All funds seized from account number 1388 at Capital One N.A., and any property traceable thereto;
- 6) All funds seized from account number property traceable thereto; 9952 at The Federal Savings Bank, and any
- 7) Northwestern Mutual Universal Life Insurance Policy and any property traceable thereto;
- 8) The real property and premises commonly known as 123 Baxter Street, #5D, New York, New York 10016 in lieu of 1046 N. Edgewood Street; and
- 9) The real property and premises commonly known as 721 Fifth Avenue, #43G, New York, New York 10022 in lieu of all funds from account number ______ at Charles Schwab & Co. Inc., and any property traceable thereto.

Your client agrees that his consent to forfeiture is final and irrevocable as to his interests in the Forfeited Assets.

b) Your client agrees that the facts set forth in the Statement of Facts and admitted to by your client establish that the Forfeited Assets are forfeitable to the United States pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Sections 981 and 982, Title 21, United States Code, Section 853, and Title 28, United States Code, Section 2461. Your client admits that the Forfeited Assets numbered 1 through 7, above, represent property that constitutes or is derived from proceeds of, and property involved in, the criminal offenses in the Superseding Criminal Information to which your client is pleading guilty. Your client further agrees that all the Forfeited Assets (numbered 1 through 9) can additionally be considered substitute assets for the purpose of forfeiture to the United States pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Section 982(b); Title 21, United States Code, Section 853(p); and Title 28, United States Code, Section 2461(c).



- c) Your client agrees that the Court may enter a preliminary order of forfeiture for the Forfeited Assets at the time of your client's guilty plea or at any time before sentencing, and consents thereto. Your client agrees that the Court can enter a Final Order of Forfeiture for the Forfeited Assets, and could do so as part of his sentence.
- d) Your client further agrees that the government may choose in its sole discretion how it wishes to accomplish forfeiture of the property whose forfeiture your client has consented to in this plea agreement, whether by criminal or civil forfeiture, using judicial or non-judicial forfeiture processes. If the government chooses to effect the forfeiture provisions of this plea agreement through the criminal forfeiture process, your client agrees to the entry of orders of forfeiture for such property and waives the requirements of Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure 11(b)(1)(J) and 32.2 regarding notice of the forfeiture in the charging instrument, advice regarding the forfeiture at the change-of-plea hearing, announcement of the forfeiture at sentencing, and incorporation of the forfeiture in the judgment.
- e) Your client understands that the United States may institute civil or administrative forfeiture proceedings against all forfeitable property in which your client has an interest, including the Forfeited Assets, without regard to the status of his criminal conviction. Your client further consents to the civil forfeiture of the Forfeited Assets to the United States, without regard to the status of his criminal conviction. In connection therewith, your client specifically agrees to waive all right, title, and interest in the Forfeited Assets, both individually and on behalf of DMP International, Summerbreeze LLC, or any other entity of which he is an officer, member, or has any ownership interest. Your client waives all defenses based on statute of limitations and venue with respect to any administrative or civil forfeiture proceeding related to the Forfeited Assets.
- either the sole and rightful owner and that no other person or entity has any claim or interest, or that he has secured the consent from any other individuals or entities having an interest in the Forfeited Assets to convey their interests in the Forfeited Assets to him prior to entry of the Order of Forfeiture (with the exception of previously disclosed mortgage holders). Your client warrants that he has accurately represented to the Government all those individuals and entities having an interest in the Forfeited Assets and the nature and extent of those interests, including any mortgages or liens on the Forfeited Assets. Your client agrees to take all steps to pass clear title to the Forfeited Assets to the United States (with the exception of previously disclosed mortgage liens). Your client further agrees to testify truthfully in any judicial forfeiture proceeding, and to take all steps to effectuate the same as requested by the Government. Your client agrees to take all steps requested by the Government to obtain from any other parties by any lawful means any records of assets owned at any time by your client, including but not limited to the Forfeited Assets, and to otherwise facilitate the effectuation of forfeiture and the maximization of the value of Forfeited Assets for the United States.
 - g) Your client agrees that, to the extent that he does not convey to the United States

clear title to each of the Forfeited Assets, the United States is entitled, in its sole discretion, either to vacatur of the plea agreement or to forfeiture to the United States of a sum of money equal to the value of that asset at the time this agreement was executed. Your client consents to modification of any Order of Forfeiture at any point to add such sum of money as a forfeiture judgment in substitution for Forfeited Assets.

- h) Your client hereby abandons any interest he has in all forfeitable property and consents to any disposition of the property by the government without further notice or obligation whatsoever owning to your client.
- i) Your client agrees not to interpose any claim, or to assist others to file or interpose any claim, to the Forfeited Assets in any proceeding, including but not limited to any civil or administrative forfeiture proceedings and any ancillary proceedings related to criminal forfeiture. Your client agrees that he shall not file any petitions for remission, restoration, or any other assertion of ownership or request for return relating to the Forfeited Assets, or any other action or motion seeking to collaterally attack the seizure, restraint, forfeiture, or conveyance of the Forfeited Assets, nor shall your client assist any other in filing any such claims, petitions, actions, or motion. Contesting or assisting others in contesting forfeiture shall constitute a material breach of the Agreement, relieving the United States of all its obligations under the Agreement. Your client agrees not to seek or accept, directly or indirectly, reimbursement or indemnification from any source with regard to the assets forfeited pursuant to this Agreement.
- j) In the event your client fails to deliver the assets forfeited pursuant to this agreement, or in any way fails to adhere to the forfeiture provisions of this agreement, the United States reserves all remedies available to it, including but not limited to vacating the Agreement based on a breach of the Agreement by your client.
- k) Your client agrees that the forfeiture provisions of this plea agreement are intended to, and will, survive him notwithstanding the abatement of any underlying criminal conviction after the execution of this Agreement.
- l) Your client agrees that he will not claim, assert, or apply for, directly or indirectly, any tax deduction, tax credit, or any other taxable offset with regard to any federal, state, or local tax or taxable income for payments of any assets forfeited pursuant to this Agreement.
- m) Your client agrees to waive all constitutional and statutory challenges in any manner (including, but not limited to, direct appeal) to any forfeiture carried out in accordance with this Agreement on any grounds, including that the forfeiture constitutes an excessive fine or punishment.



13. Breach of Agreement

Your client understands and agrees that, if after entering this Agreement, your client fails specifically to perform or to fulfill completely each and every one of your client's obligations under this Agreement, or engages in any criminal activity prior to sentencing or during his cooperation (whichever is later), your client will have breached this Agreement. Should it be judged by the Government in its sole discretion that the defendant has failed to cooperate fully, has intentionally given false, misleading or incomplete information or testimony, has committed or attempted to commit any further crimes, or has otherwise violated any provision of this agreement, the defendant will not be released from his pleas of guilty but the Government will be released from its obligations under this agreement, including (a) not to oppose a downward adjustment of two levels for acceptance of responsibility described above, and to make the motion for an additional one-level reduction described above and (b) to file the motion for a downward departure for cooperation described above. Moreover, the Government may withdraw the motion described above, if such motion has been filed prior to sentencing. In the event that it is judged by the Government that there has been a breach: (a) your client will be fully subject to criminal prosecution, in addition to the charges contained in the Superseding Criminal Information, for any crimes to which he has not pled guilty, including perjury and obstruction of justice; and (b) the Government and any other party will be free to use against your client, directly and indirectly, in any criminal or civil proceeding, all statements made by your client, including the Statement of the Offense, and any of the information or materials provided by your client, including such statements, information, and materials provided pursuant to this Agreement or during the course of any debriefings conducted in anticipation of, or after entry of, this Agreement, whether or not the debriefings were previously a part of profferprotected debriefings, and your client's statements made during proceedings before the Court pursuant to Rule 11 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

Your client understands and agrees that the Government shall be required to prove a breach of this Agreement only by good faith.

Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to protect your client from prosecution for any crimes not included within this Agreement or committed by your client after the execution of this Agreement. Your client understands and agrees that the Government reserves the right to prosecute your client for any such offenses. Your client further understands that any perjury, false statements or declarations, or obstruction of justice relating to your client's obligations under this Agreement shall constitute a breach of this Agreement. In the event of such a breach, your client will not be allowed to withdraw your client's guilty plea.

14. Complete Agreement

Apart from the written proffer agreement initially dated September 11, 2018, which this Agreement supersedes, no agreements, promises, understandings, or representations have been

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made by the parties or their counsel other than those contained in writing herein, nor will any such agreements, promises, understandings, or representations be made unless committed to writing and signed by your client, defense counsel, and the Office.

Your client further understands that this Agreement is binding only upon the Office. This Agreement does not bind any United States Attorney's Office, nor does it bind any other state, local, or federal prosecutor. It also does not bar or compromise any civil, tax, or administrative claim pending or that may be made against your client.

If the foregoing terms and conditions are satisfactory, your client may so indicate by

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signing this Agreement and the Statement of the Offense, and returning both to the Office no later than September 14, 2018.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III Special Counsel

By:

Andrew Weissmann

Jeannie S. Rhee

Greg D. Andres

Kyle R. Freeny

Senior/Assistant Special Counsels

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DEFENDANT'S ACCEPTANCE

I have read every page of this Agreement and have discussed it with my attorneys Kevin Downing, Thomas Zehnle, and Richard Westling. I am fully satisfied with the legal representation by them, who I have chosen to represent me herein. Nothing about the quality of the representation of other counsel is affecting my decision herein to plead guilty. I fully understand this Agreement and agree to it without reservation. I do this voluntarily and of my own free will, intending to be legally bound. No threats have been made to me nor am I under the influence of anything that could impede my ability to understand this Agreement fully. I am pleading guilty because I am in fact guilty of the offense identified in this Agreement.

I reaffirm that absolutely no promises, agreements, understandings, or conditions have been made or entered into in connection with my decision to plead guilty except those set forth in this Agreement. I am satisfied with the legal services provided by my attorneys in connection with this Agreement and matters related to it.

Date: 9-13-18

Paul J. Manafort, Jr.

Defendant

ATTORNEYS' ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I have read every page of this Agreement, reviewed this Agreement with my client, Paul J. Manafort, and fully discussed the provisions of this Agreement with my client. These pages accurately and completely set forth the entire Agreement. I concur in my client's desire to plead guilty as set forth in this Agreement.

Date: 9-13-2018

Keyin M. Downing

Richard W. Westling

Thomas E. Zehnle

Attorneys for Defendant



IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

*

Clerk, U.S. District & Bankruptcy Courts for the District of Columbia

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CRIMINAL NO. 17-201-1 (ABJ)

* Violations: 18 U.S.C. § 371

(Conspiracy Against the United States

* and Conspiracy to Obstruct Justice)

PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR.,

V.

Defendant.

STATEMENT OF THE OFFENSES AND OTHER ACTS

Pursuant to the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure 11, the United States and the defendant PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR. (MANAFORT) stipulate and agree that the following facts are true and accurate. These facts do not constitute all of the facts known to the parties concerning the charged offense and covered conduct. This statement is being submitted by the parties to demonstrate that sufficient facts exist to establish that the defendant committed the offenses to which he is pleading guilty.

Count 1: Conspiracy Against the United States (18 U.S.C. § 371)

1. At all relevant times herein, MANAFORT was an owner of Davis Manafort Partners, Inc. (DMP) or DMP International, LLC (DMI) or both. MANAFORT engaged in a variety of criminal schemes, and knowingly, intentionally, and willfully conspired with Richard W. Gates, Konstantin Kilimnik, and others to carry out the criminal schemes that make up Counts One and Two of the Information, as more fully set forth below.

A. FARA Conspiracy 22 U.S.C. §§ 612 and 618(a)(1)

MANAFORT's Lobbying in the United States on Behalf of the Government of Ukraine

- 2. MANAFORT knew it was illegal to lobby government officials and engage in public relations activities (hereinafter collectively referred to as lobbying) in the United States on behalf of a foreign government or political party, without registering with the United States Government under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. MANAFORT knew he was lobbying in the United States for the Government of Ukraine, President Viktor F. Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the Opposition Bloc (the latter two being political parties in Ukraine), and thus he was supposed to submit a written registration statement to the United States Department of Justice. MANAFORT knew that the filing was required to disclose the name of the foreign country, all the financial payments to the lobbyist, and the specific steps undertaken for the foreign country in the United States, among other information.
- 3. MANAFORT knew that Ukraine had a strong interest in the United States' taking economic and policy positions favorable to Ukraine, including not imposing sanctions on Ukraine. MANAFORT also knew that the trial and treatment of President Yanukovych's political rival, former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, was strongly condemned by leading United States executive and legislative branch officials, and was a major hurdle to improving United States and Ukraine relations.
- 4. From 2006 until 2015, MANAFORT led a multi-million dollar lobbying campaign in the United States at the direction of the Government of Ukraine, President Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the Opposition Bloc. MANAFORT intentionally did so without registering and providing the disclosures required by law.
- 5. As part of the lobbying scheme, MANAFORT hired numerous firms and people to assist in his lobbying campaign in the United States. He hired Companies A, B, C, D, and E, and Law Firm A, among others, to participate in what he described to President Yanukovych in writing as a global



"Engage Ukraine" lobbying campaign that he devised and led. These companies and law firm were paid the equivalent of over \$11 million for their Ukraine work.

- 6. MANAFORT viewed secrecy for himself and for the actions of his lobbyists as integral to the effectiveness of the lobbying offensive he orchestrated for Ukraine. Filing under the Foreign Agents Registration Act would have thwarted the secrecy MANAFORT sought in order to conduct an effective campaign for Ukraine to influence both American leaders and the American public.
- 7. MANAFORT took steps to avoid any of these firms and people disclosing their lobbying efforts under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. As one example, even though MANAFORT engaged Company E in 2007 to lobby in the United States for the Government of Ukraine, MANAFORT tried to dissuade Company E from filing under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Only after MANAFORT ceased to use Company E in the fall of 2007 did Company E disclose its work for Ukraine, in a belated filing under the Act in 2008.
- 8. MANAFORT took other measures to keep the Ukraine lobbying as secret as possible. For example, MANAFORT, in written communications on or about May 16, 2013, directed his lobbyists (including Persons D1 and D2, who worked for Company D) to write and disseminate within the United States news stories that alleged that Tymoshenko had paid for the murder of a Ukrainian official. MANAFORT stated that it should be "push[ed]" "[w]ith no fingerprints." "It is very important we have no connection." MANAFORT stated that "[m]y goal is to plant some stink on Tymo." Person D1 objected to the plan, but ultimately Persons D1 and D2 complied with .

 MANAFORT's direction. The Foreign Agents Registration Act required MANAFORT to disclose such lobbying, as MANAFORT knew. He did not.

The Hapsburg Group and Company D

9. As part of the lobbying scheme, starting in 2011, MANAFORT secretly retained Company

D and a group of four former European heads of state and senior officials (including a former Austrian Chancellor, Italian Prime Minister, and Polish President) to lobby in the United States and Europe on behalf of Ukraine. The former politicians, called the Hapsburg Group by MANAFORT, appeared to be providing solely their independent assessments of Government of Ukraine policies, when in fact they were paid by Ukraine. MANAFORT explained in an "EYES ONLY" memorandum in or about June 2012 that his purpose was to "assemble a small group of high-level European infuencial [sic] champions and politically credible friends who can act informally and without any visible relationship with the Government of Ukraine."

- 10. Through MANAFORT, the Government of Ukraine retained an additional group of lobbyists (Company D and Persons D1 and D2). In addition to lobbying itself, Company D secretly served as intermediaries between the Hapsburg Group and MANAFORT and the Government of Ukraine. In or about 2012 through 2013, MANAFORT directed more than the equivalent of 700,000 euros to be wired from at least three of his offshore accounts to the benefit of Company D to pay secretly for its services.
- 11. All four Hapsburg Group members, at the direction, and with the direct assistance, of MANAFORT, advocated positions favorable to Ukraine in meetings with United States lawmakers, interviews with United States journalists, and ghost written op-eds in American publications. In or about 2012 through 2014, MANAFORT directed more than 2 million euros to be wired from at least four of his offshore accounts to pay secretly the Hapsburg Group. To avoid European taxation, the contract with the Hapsburg Group falsely stated that none of its work would take place in Europe.
- 12. One of the Hapsburg Group members, a former Polish President, was also a representative of the European Parliament with oversight responsibility for Ukraine. MANAFORT solicited that

official to provide MANAFORT inside information about the European Parliament's views and actions toward Ukraine and to take actions favorable to Ukraine. MANAFORT also used this Hapsburg Group member's current European Parliament position to Ukraine's advantage in his lobbying efforts in the United States. In the fall of 2012, the United States Senate was considering and ultimately passed a resolution critical of President Yanukovych's treatment of former Prime Minister Tymoshenko. MANAFORT engaged in an all-out campaign to try to kill or delay the passage of this resolution. Among the steps he took was having the Hapsburg Group members reach out to United States Senators, as well as directing Companies A and B to have private conversations with Senators to lobby them to place a "hold" on the resolution. MANAFORT told his lobbyists to stress to the Senators that the former Polish President who was advocating against the resolution was currently a designated representative of the President of the European Parliament, to give extra clout to his supposedly independent judgment against the Senate resolution. MANAFORT never revealed to the Senators or to the American public that any of these lobbyists or Hapsburg Group members were paid by Ukraine.

13. In another example, on May 16, 2013, another member of the Hapsburg Group lobbied in the United States for Ukraine. The Hapsburg Group member accompanied his country's prime minister to the Oval Office and met with the President and Vice President of the United States, as well as senior United States officials in the executive and legislative branches. In written communications sent to MANAFORT, Person D1 reported that the Hapsburg Group member delivered the message of not letting "Russians Steal Ukraine from the West." The Foreign Agents Registration Act required MANAFORT to disclose such lobbying, as MANAFORT knew. He did not.

Law Firm Report and Tymoshenko

- 14. As another part of the lobbying scheme, in 2012, on behalf of President Yanukovych and the Government of Ukraine's Ministry of Justice, MANAFORT solicited a United States law firm to write a report evaluating the trial of Yanukovych's political opponent Yulia Tymoshenko. MANAFORT caused Ukraine to hire the law firm so that its report could be used in the United States and elsewhere to defend the Tymoshenko criminal trial and argue that President Yanukovych and Ukraine had not engaged in selective prosecution.
- 15. MANAFORT retained a public relations firm (Company C) to prepare a media roll-out plan for the law firm report. MANAFORT used one of his offshore accounts to pay Company C the equivalent of more than \$1 million for its services.
- 16. MANAFORT worked closely with Company C to develop a detailed written lobbying plan in connection with what MANAFORT termed the "selling" of the report. This campaign included getting the law firm's report "seeded" to the press in the United States—that is, to leak the report ahead of its official release to a prominent United States newspaper and then use that initial article to influence reporting globally. As part of the roll-out plan, on the report's issuance on December 13, 2012, MANAFORT arranged to have the law firm disseminate hard copies of the report to numerous government officials, including senior United States executive and legislative branch officials.
- 17. MANAFORT reported on the law firm's work on the report and Company C's lobbying plan to President Yanukovych and other representatives of the Government of Ukraine. For example, in a July 27, 2012 memorandum to President Yanukovych's Chief of Staff, MANAFORT reported on "the global rollout strategy for the [law firm's] legal report, and provide[d] a detailed plan of action[]" which included step-by-step lobbying outreach in the United States.
- 18. MANAFORT directed lobbyists to tout the report as showing that President Yanukovych

had not selectively prosecuted Tymoshenko. But in November 2012 MANAFORT had been told privately in writing by the law firm that the evidence of Tymoshenko's criminal intent "is virtually non-existent" and that it was unclear even among legal experts that Tymoshenko lacked power to engage in the conduct central to the Ukraine criminal case. These facts, known by MANAFORT, were not disclosed to the public.

- 19. MANAFORT knew that the report also did not disclose that the law firm, in addition to being retained to write the report, was retained to represent Ukraine itself, including in connection with the Tymoshenko case and to provide training to the trial team prosecuting Tymoshenko.
- 20. MANAFORT also knew that the Government of Ukraine did not want to disclose how much the report cost. More than \$4.6 million was paid to the law firm for its work. MANAFORT used one of his offshore accounts to funnel \$4 million to pay the law firm, a fact that MANAFORT did not disclose to the public. Instead, the Government of Ukraine reported falsely that the report cost just \$12,000.
- 21. MANAFORT and others knew that the actual cost of the report and the scope of the law firm's work would undermine the report's being perceived as an independent assessment and thus being an effective lobbying tool for MANAFORT to use to support the incarceration of President Yanukovych's political opponent.
- 22. In addition to the law firm report, MANAFORT took other steps on behalf of the Government of Ukraine to tarnish Tymoshenko in the United States. In addition to disseminating stories about her soliciting murder, noted above, in October 2012, MANAFORT orchestrated a scheme to have, as he wrote in a contemporaneous communication, "[O]bama jews" put pressure on the Administration to disavow Tymoshenko and support Yanukovych. MANAFORT sought to undermine United States support for Tymoshenko by spreading stories in the United States that

a senior Cabinet official (who had been a prominent critic of Yanukovych's treatment of Tymoshenko) was supporting anti-Semitism because the official supported Tymoshenko, who in turn had formed a political alliance with a Ukraine party that espoused anti-Semitic views. MANAFORT coordinated privately with a senior Israeli government official to issue a written statement publicizing this story. MANAFORT then, with secret advance knowledge of that Israeli statement, worked to disseminate this story in the United States, writing to Person D1 "I have someone pushing it on the NY Post. Bada bing bada boom." MANAFORT sought to have the Administration understand that "the Jewish community will take this out on Obama on election day if he does nothing." MANAFORT then told his United States lobbyist to inform the Administration that Ukraine had worked to prevent the Administration's presidential opponent from including damaging language in the Israeli statement, so as not to harm the Administration, and thus further ingratiate Yanukovych with the Administration.

Company A and Company B

- 23. As a third part of the lobbying scheme, in February 2012, MANAFORT solicited two Washington, D.C. lobbying firms (Company A and Company B) to lobby in the United States on behalf of President Yanukovych, the Party of Regions and the Government of Ukraine. For instance, in early 2012 at the inception of the relationship, Company B wrote in an email to its team about a "potential representation for the Ukraine," having been contacted "at the suggestion of Paul Manafort who has been working on the current PM elections."
- 24. MANAFORT arranged to pay Companies A and B over \$2 million from his offshore accounts for their United States lobbying work for Ukraine.
- 25. MANAFORT provided direction to Companies A and B in their lobbying efforts, including providing support for numerous United States visits by numerous senior Ukrainian officials.



Companies A and B, at MANAFORT's direction, engaged in extensive United States lobbying. Among other things, they lobbied dozens of Members of Congress, their staff, and White House and State Department officials about Ukraine sanctions, the validity of Ukraine elections, and the propriety of President Yanukovych's imprisoning Tymoshenko, his presidential rival.

- 26. In addition, with the assistance of Company A, MANAFORT also personally lobbied in the United States. He drafted and edited numerous ghost-written op-eds for publication in United States newspapers. He also personally met in March 2013 in Washington, D.C., with a Member of Congress who was on a subcommittee that had Ukraine within its purview. After the meeting, MANAFORT prepared a report for President Yanukovych that the meeting "went well" and reported a series of positive developments for Ukraine from the meeting.
- 27. Indeed, MANAFORT repeatedly communicated in person and in writing with President Yanukovych and his staff about the lobbying activities of Companies A and B and he tasked the companies to prepare assessments of their work so he, in turn, could brief President Yanukovych. For instance, MANAFORT wrote President Yanukovych a memorandum dated April 8, 2012, in which he provided an update on the lobbying firms' activities "since the inception of the project a few weeks ago. It is my intention to provide you with a weekly update moving forward." In November 2012, Gates wrote to Companies A and B that the firms needed to prepare an assessment of their past and prospective lobbying efforts so the "President" could be briefed by "Paul" "on what Ukraine has done well and what it can do better as we move into 2013." The resulting memorandum from Companies A and B, with input from Gates, noted among other things that the "client" had not been as successful as hoped given that it had an Embassy in Washington.
- 28. To distance their United States lobbying work from the Government of Ukraine, and to avoid having to register as agents of Ukraine under the Foreign Agents Registration Act,



MANAFORT with others arranged for Companies A and B to be engaged by a newly-formed Brussels entity called the European Centre for the Modern Ukraine (the Centre), instead of directly by the Government of Ukraine.

- 29. MANAFORT described the Centre as "the Brussels NGO that we have formed" to coordinate lobbying for Ukraine. The Centre was founded by a Ukraine Party of Regions member and Ukraine First Vice-Prime Minister. The head of its Board was another member of the Party of Regions, who became the Ukraine Foreign Minister.
- 30. In spite of these ties to Ukraine, MANAFORT and others arranged for the Centre to represent falsely that it was not "directly or indirectly supervised, directed, [or] controlled" in whole or in major part by the Government of Ukraine or the Party of Regions. MANAFORT knew that the false and misleading representations would lead Companies A and B not to register their activities pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.
- 31. Despite the Centre being the ostensible client of Companies A and B, MANAFORT knew that the Centre did not direct or oversee their work. The firms received direction from MANAFORT and his subordinate Gates, on behalf of the Government of Ukraine.
- 32. As MANAFORT knows from giving directions to Companies A and B, and from the discovery material provided herein, various employees of Companies A and B understood that they were receiving direction from MANAFORT and President Yanukovych, not the Centre, which was not even operational when Companies A and B began lobbying for Ukraine. MANAFORT, Gates, and employees of both Companies A and B referred to the client in ways that made clear they knew it was Ukraine, for instance noting that the "client" had an Embassy in Washington D.C. The head of Company B told his team to think the President of Ukraine "is the client." As a Company A employee noted to another company employee: the lobbying for the



Centre was "in name only. [Y]ou've gotta see through the nonsense of that[.]" "It's like Alice in Wonderland." An employee of Company B described the Centre as a fig leaf, and the Centre's written certification that it was not related to the Party of Regions as "a fig leaf on a fig leaf," referring to the Centre in an email as the "European hot dog stand for a Modern Ukraine."

Conspiring to Obstruct Justice: False and Misleading Submissions to the Department of Justice

- 33. In September 2016, after numerous press reports concerning MANAFORT had appeared in August, the Department of Justice National Security Division informed MANAFORT, Gates, and DMI in writing that it sought to determine whether they had acted as agents of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, without registering. In November 2016 and February 2017, MANAFORT and Gates conspired to knowingly and intentionally cause false and misleading letters to be submitted to the Department of Justice, through his unwitting legal counsel. The letters, both of which were approved by MANAFORT before they were submitted by his counsel, represented falsely, among other things, that:
 - a. DMI's "efforts on behalf of the Party of Regions" "did not include meetings or outreach within the U.S.";
 - b. MANAFORT did not "recall meeting with or conducting outreach to U.S. government officials or U.S. media outlets on behalf of the [Centre], nor do they recall being party to, arranging, or facilitating any such communications. Rather, it is the recollection and understanding of Messrs. Gates and Manafort that such communications would have been facilitated and conducted by the [Centre's] U.S. consultants, as directed by the [Centre]...";
 - c. MANAFORT had merely served as a means of introduction of Company A and Company B to the Centre and provided the Centre with a list of "potential U.S.-based

consultants—including [Company A] and [Company B]—for the [Centre's] reference and further consideration."

- d. DMI "does not retain communications beyond thirty days" and as a result of this policy, a "search has returned no responsive documents." The November 2016 letter attached a one-page, undated document that purported to be a DMI "Email Retention Policy."
- 34. In fact, MANAFORT had: selected Companies A and B; engaged in weekly scheduled calls and frequent emails with Companies A and B to provide them directions as to specific lobbying steps that should be taken; sought and received detailed oral and written reports from these firms on the lobbying work they had performed; communicated with Yanukovych to brief him on their lobbying efforts; both congratulated and reprimanded Companies A and B on their lobbying work; communicated directly with United States officials in connection with this work; and paid the lobbying firms over \$2.5 million from offshore accounts he controlled, among other things.
- 35. Although MANAFORT had represented to the Department of Justice in November 2016 and February 2017 that he had no relevant documents, in fact MANAFORT had numerous incriminating documents in his possession, as he knew at the time. The Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted a court-authorized search of MANAFORT'S home in Virginia in the summer of 2017. The documents attached hereto as Government Exhibits 503, 504, 517, 532, 594, 604, 606, 616, 691, 692, 697, 706 and 708, among numerous others, were all documents that MANAFORT had in his possession (and were found in the search) and all pre-dated the November 2016 letter.

B. Money Laundering Conspiracy

36. In or around and between 2006 and 2016, MANAFORT, together with others, did

knowingly and intentionally conspire (a) to conduct financial transactions, affecting interstate and foreign commerce, which involved the proceeds of specified unlawful activity, to wit, felony violations of FARA in violation of Title 22, United States Code, Sections 612 and 618, knowing that the property involved in the financial transactions represented proceeds of some form of unlawful activity, with intent to engage in conduct constituting a violation of sections 7201 and 7206 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986; and (b) to transport, transmit, and transfer monetary instruments and funds from places outside the United States to and through places in the United States and from places in the United States to and through places outside the United States, with the intent to promote the carrying on of specified unlawful activity, to wit: a felony violation of FARA, in violation of Title 22, United States Code, Sections 612 and 618, contrary to Title 18, United States Code, Section 1956(a)(1)(A)(ii) and (a)(2)(A).

37. MANAFORT caused the following transfers to be made, knowing that they were being made to entities to carry on activities that were required to be timely reported under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, but were not:

Payee	Date	Payer	Originating	Country of		Amount
			Bank Account	Origin	Destination	(USD)
Company A	8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Ltd. Account -0480		US	\$270,000.00
	10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	71		US	\$90,000.00
	11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$120,000.00
	11/20/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$182,968.07
	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$25,000.00
	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Hellenic Bank Account -2501	Cyprus	US	\$90,000.00
	9/18/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -1840	SVG*	US	\$135,937.37

Payee	Date	Payer	Originating	Country of Origin Destination		Amount (USD)
			Bank Account			
	10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$167,689.40
	3/28/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$135,639.63
	4/3/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$82,979.93
Total	Company A	Transfers				\$1,300,214.42
	5/30/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$130,000.00
	8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$195,000.00
	10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$130,000.00
	11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$50,000.00
	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$54,649.51
	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Hellenic Bank Account -2501	Cyprus	US	\$150,000.00
uny B	9/3/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$175,857.51
Company B	10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$195,857.51
	3/12/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$26,891.78
	3/21/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$138,026.00
	4/15/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$4,728.81
	4/25/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$4,739.23
Total	Company B	Transfers				\$1,255,750.35



Payee	Date	Payer	Originating	Country of		Amount
			Bank Account	Origin	Destination	(USD)
4	4/19/2012	Black Sea Bank of Cyprus View Limited Account -7412		Cyprus	US	\$2,000,000.00
' Firm	5/30/2012	Black Sea View Limited			US	\$1,000,000.00
Law	7/13/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$1,000,000.00
Total Law Firm A Transfers						\$4,000,000.00
TOTAL TRANSFERS						\$6,555,964.77

^{*} SVG refers to St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

C. Tax and Foreign Bank Account Conspiracy 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1) 31 U.S.C. §§ 5314 and 5322(a)

- 38. From 2008 through 2014, MANAFORT caused millions of dollars of wire transfers to be made from offshore nominee accounts, without paying taxes on that income. The payments were made for goods, services, and real estate. MANAFORT also hid income by denominating various overseas payments as "loans," thereby evading payment of any taxes on that income by MANAFORT.
- 39. MANAFORT directly and through Gates repeatedly misled his bookkeeper and tax accountants, including by not disclosing Manafort's overseas accounts and income. Further, MANAFORT and Gates, acting at Manafort's instruction, classified overseas payments made to MANAFORT falsely as "loans" to avoid incurring additional taxes on the income.
- 40. MANAFORT owned and controlled a range of foreign bank accounts in Cyprus, the Grenadines, and the United Kingdom. MANAFORT directly and through Gates maintained these accounts, including by managing them and by making substantial transfers from the accounts to both himself and vendors for personal items for him and his family. MANAFORT was aware that many of these accounts held well in excess of \$10,000 in the aggregate at some point during each year in which they existed. MANAFORT did not report the accounts' existence to his bookkeeper

and his tax preparers in an effort to hide them, and to allow him to avoid disclosing their existence on an FBAR filing.

- 41. MANAFORT was aware at the time that it was illegal to hide income from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) by failing to account for reportable income on his income tax returns. MANAFORT was also aware that it was illegal to fail to report information to the IRS regarding the existence of foreign bank accounts, as required by Schedule B of the IRS Form 1040. MANAFORT also understood at the time that a U.S. person who had a financial interest in, or signature or other authority over, a bank account or other financial account in a foreign country, which exceeded \$10,000 in any one year (at any time during that year), was required to report the account to the Department of the Treasury. MANAFORT also understood, after 2010, that the failure to make such a report constituted a crime.
- 42. Knowing the existence of his reportable foreign accounts and hidden income, MANAFORT knowingly, intentionally, and willfully filed and conspired to file false tax returns from 2006-2015 in that he said he did not have reportable foreign bank accounts when he knew that he did, he did not report income that he knew he in fact had earned, and he did not file Foreign Bank Account Reports. MANAFORT failed to report over \$15 million in income during the period 2010-2014.

FORFEITURE

- 43. The following assets constitute or were derived from proceeds of MANAFORT's conspiracy to violate the Foreign Agents Registration Act and/or they constitute property involved in MANAFORT's conspiracy to launder money in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1956 or are traceable thereto and/or they represent substitute assets for such property which has been made unavailable for forfeiture by the acts or omissions of MANAFORT:
 - a) The real property and premises commonly known as 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New

- York 11231 (Block 429, Lot 65), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- b) The real property and premises commonly known as 29 Howard Street, #4D, New York, New York 10013 (Block 209, Lot 1104), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- c) The real property and premises commonly known as 174 Jobs Lane, Water Mill, New York 11976, including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- d) All funds held in account number XXXXXX0969 at The Federal Savings Bank, and any property traceable thereto;
- e) All funds seized from account number XXXXXX1388 at Capital One N.A. and any property traceable thereto;
- f) All funds seized from account number XXXXXX9952 at The Federal Savings Bank and any property traceable thereto;
- g) Northwestern Mutual Universal Life Insurance Policy and any property traceable thereto;
- h) The real property and premises commonly known as 123 Baxter Street, #5D, New York, New York 10016 in lieu of 1046 N. Edgewood Street; and
- i) The real property and premises commonly known as 721 Fifth Avenue, #43G, New York, New York 10022 in lieu of all funds from account number at Charles Schwab & Co. Inc., and any property traceable thereto.

Count Two: Witness Tampering Conspiracy (18 U.S.C. § 371)

44. From in or about and between February 23, 2018, and April 2018, both dates being approximate and inclusive, within the District of Columbia and elsewhere, the defendant PAUL J.

PM

MANAFORT, JR., together with others, including Konstantin Kilimnik, knowingly and intentionally conspired to corruptly persuade another person, to wit: Persons D1 and D2, with intent to influence, delay and prevent the testimony of any person in an official proceeding, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1512(b)(1). The facts set forth with respect to Count One are incorporated herein.

- 45. On February 22, 2018, MANAFORT was charged in the District of Columbia in a Superseding Indictment that for the first time included allegations about the Hapsburg Group and MANAFORT's use of that group to lobby illegally in the United States in violation of the Foreign Agent Registration Act. MANAFORT knew that the Act prescribed only United States lobbying. Immediately after February 22, 2018, MANAFORT began reaching out directly and indirectly to Persons D1 and D2 to induce them to say falsely that they did not work in the United States as part of the lobbying campaign, even though MANAFORT then and there well knew that they did lobby in the United States.
- 46. MANAFORT committed the following overt acts directly and through his conspirators.

Date/Time*	Sender	Receiver	Event
MAN	AFORT contacted	l Person D1 by	phone and a messaging application:
2/24/2018; 15:51 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
2/24/2018; 15:51 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call: 1 min, 24 second call.
2/24/2018; 15:53 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "This is paul"
2/25/2018; 18:41 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
2/26/2018; 23:56 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "http://www.businessinsider.com/former-european-leaders-manafort-hapsburg-group-2018-2?r=UK&IR=T"

Date/Time*	Sender	Receiver	Event
2/26/2018; 23:57 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "We should talk. I have made clear that they worked in Europe."
2/27/2018; 11:03 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
2/27/2018; 11:31 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
Kilimnii	k contacted Person	n D2 a messag	ing application, sending four messages:
2/28/2018; 01:49 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"[Person D2], hi! How are you? Hope you are doing fine. ;))"
2/28/2018; 01:51 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"My friend P is trying to reach [Person D1] to brief him on what's going on."
2/28/2018; 01:51 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"If you have a chance to mention this to [Person D1] - would be great"
2/28/2018; 01:53 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Basically P wants to give him a quick summary that he says to everybody (which is true) that our friends never lobbied in the US, and the purpose of the program was EU"
Kilimnik contac	cted Person D2 us	ing a different	messaging application, sending five messages:
2/28/2018; 06:01 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey, how are you? This is K."
2/28/2018; 06:01(CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hope you are doing fine."
		"My friend P is trying to reach [Person D1] to brief him on what's going on"	
2/28/2018; Kilimnik Pe 06:02 (CEST)		Person D2	"Basically P wants to give him a quick summary that he says to everybody (which is true) that our friends never lobbied in the US, and the purpose of the program was EU"

Date/Time*	Sender	Receiver	Event
2/28/2018; 06:03 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"If you have a chance to mention this to [First Initial of Person D1's Name] it would be great. It would be good to get them connected to discuss in person. P is his friend."
Kilimnik cont	acted Person D	2 using two diff	ferent applications, sending three messages:
4/4/2018; 08:53 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey. This is Konstantin. My friend P asked me again to help connect him with [Person D1]. Can you help?"
4/4/2018; 08:54 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey. My friend P has asked me again if there is any way to help connect him through [Person D1]
4/4/2018; 08:54 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"I tried him on all numbers."
1	Kilimnik contact	ed Person D1 1	using a messaging application:
4/4/2018; 13:00 (UTC)	Kilimnik	Person D1	"Hi. This is K. My friend P is looking for ways to connect to you to pass you several messages. Can we arrange that."

^{*}UTC and CEST refer to Coordinated Universal Time and Central European Summer Time, respectively.

Other Acts

I. Bank/Bank Fraud Conspiracy 18 U.S.C. §§ 1344 and 1349

Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Citizens Bank / \$3.4 million loan (Charged as Count 24 in the Eastern District of Virginia Superseding Indictment)

47. Between December 2015 and March 2016, MANAFORT conspired to intentionally defraud Citizens Bank in connection with his application for a mortgage for approximately \$3.4 million. The mortgage related to a condominium on Howard Street in the Soho neighborhood of Manhattan, New York. During the course of the conspiracy, MANAFORT made and caused to be made, a series of false and fraudulent representations to the bank in order to secure the loan, including the



following: (a) MANAFORT falsely represented the amount of debt he had by failing to disclose on his loan application the existence of a mortgage on his Union Street property (from Genesis Capital); (b) MANAFORT caused an insurance broker to provide Citizens Bank false information, namely, an outdated insurance report that did not list the Union Street loan (from Genesis Capital); (c) MANAFORT falsely stated that a \$1.5 million Peranova loan had been forgiven in 2015; and (d) MANAFORT falsely represented to the lender and its agents that the Howard Street property was a secondary home used as such by his daughter and son-in-law and was not held as a rental property. These statements were material to Citizens Bank.

48. Citizens Bank was a financial institution chartered by the United States.

Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Banc of California / \$1 million loan (Charged as Count 26 in the Eastern District of Virginia Superseding Indictment)

- 49. In approximately February 2016, MANAFORT conspired to intentionally defraud Banc of California in connection with his application for a business loan. During the course of the conspiracy, MANAFORT made and caused to be made a series of false and fraudulent representations to the bank, including the following: (a) the submission of a false statement of assets and liabilities that failed to disclose a loan on the Union Street property (from Genesis Capital) and misrepresented, among other things, the amount of the mortgage on the Howard Street property; and (b) the submission of a doctored 2015 DMI profit and loss statement (P&L) that overstated DMI's 2015 income by more than \$4 million. These statements were material to Banc of California.
- 50. Banc of California was a financial institution chartered by the United States.

Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Citizens Bank / \$5.5 million loan (Charged as Count 28 in the Eastern District of Virginia Superseding Indictment)

51. Between December 2015 and March 2016, MANAFORT conspired to intentionally defraud Citizens Bank in connection with his application for a mortgage for approximately \$5.5 million on a property at Union Street in Brooklyn, New York. During the course of the conspiracy, MANAFORT made or caused to be made a series of false and fraudulent material representations to the bank in order to secure the loan, including the following: (a) the submission of a false statement of assets and liabilities that hid a prior loan on the Union Street property (from Genesis Capital), among other liabilities; and (b) the submission of a falsified 2016 DMI P&L that overstated DMI's income by more than \$2 million.

Bank Fraud/Bank Fraud Conspiracy / The Federal Savings Bank / \$9.5 million loan & \$6.5 million loan (Charged in Counts 29. 30, 31 & 32 in the Eastern District of Virginia Superseding Indictment)

- 52. Between April 2016 and January 2017, MANAFORT conspired to intentionally defraud, and did defraud, The Federal Savings Bank in connection with his applications for the following two loans: (a) a loan for approximately \$9.5 million related to various properties, including a house in Bridgehampton, New York, and (b) a loan for approximately \$6.5 million related to his Union Street property. During the course of the fraudulent scheme, MANAFORT made and caused to be made a series of false and fraudulent material representations to the bank in order to secure both loans, including the following: (a) MANAFORT provided the bank with doctored P&Ls for DMI for both 2015 and 2016, overstating its income by millions of dollars; and (b) MANAFORT falsely represented to The Federal Savings Bank that he had lent his credit card to a friend who had incurred more than \$200,000 in charges relating to the purchase of Yankee tickets.
- 53. Both loans were extended by The Federal Savings Bank.



54. The Federal Savings Bank was a financial institution chartered by the United States.

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III

Special Counsel

By:

Andrew Weissmann Jeannie S. Rhee Greg D. Andres Kyle R. Freeny

Senior/Assistant Special Counsels

MM

DEFENDANT'S ACCEPTANCE

I have read every page of this Agreement and have discussed it with my attorneys Kevin Downing, Thomas Zehnle, and Richard Westling. I am fully satisfied with the legal representation by them, who I have chosen to represent me herein. Nothing about the quality of the representation of other counsel is affecting my decision herein to plead guilty. I fully understand this Agreement and agree to it without reservation. I do this voluntarily and of my own free will, intending to be legally bound. No threats have been made to me nor am I under the influence of anything that could impede my ability to understand this Agreement fully. I am pleading guilty because I am in fact guilty of the offense identified in this Agreement.

I reaffirm that absolutely no promises, agreements, understandings, or conditions have been made or entered into in connection with my decision to plead guilty except those set forth in this Agreement. I am satisfied with the legal services provided by my attorneys in connection with this Agreement and matters related to it.

Date: 9-14-18

Paul J. Manafort, Jr.

Defendant

ATTORNEYS' ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I have read every page of this Agreement, reviewed this Agreement with my client, Paul J. Manafort, and fully discussed the provisions of this Agreement with my client. These pages accurately and completely set forth the entire Agreement. I concur in my client's desire to plead guilty as set forth in this Agreement.

Date: 9-14-18

Kevin M. Downing

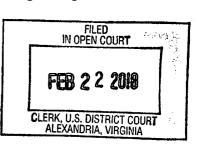
Richard W. Westling

Thomas E. Zehnle

Attorneys for Defendant

ATTACHMENT C

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA Alexandria Division



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

v.

PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., (Counts 1 through 5, 11 through 14, and 24 through 32)

and

RICHARD W. GATES III, (Counts 6 through 10 and 15 through 32)

Defendants.

CRIMINAL NO. 1:18 Cr. 83 (TSE)(S-1)

<u>COUNTS 1–5</u>: 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1); 18

U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.

Subscribing to False United States

Individual Income Tax Returns

COUNTS 6-10: 26 U.S.C. § 7206(2); 18

U.S.C. § 3551 et seq.

Assisting in the Preparation of False

United States Individual Income

COUNTS 11–14: 31 U.S.C. §§ 5314 and

5322(a); 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq. Failure To File Reports Of Foreign Bank

And Financial Accounts

<u>COUNTS 15–19</u>: 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1);

18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.

* Subscribing to False United States

Individual Income Tax Returns

COUNT 20: 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1); 18

U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.

* Subscribing to a False Amended United

* States Individual Income Tax Return

* <u>COUNTS 21–23</u>: 31 U.S.C. §§ 5314 and

5322(a); 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.

* Failure To File Reports Of Foreign Bank

And Financial Accounts

COLDITION 10 II C

COUNT 24: 18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and 3551

et seq.

* Bank Fraud Conspiracy

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* COUNT 25: 18 U.S.C. §§ 1344, 2, and

* 3551 <u>et seq</u>.

* Bank Fraud

- * <u>COUNT 26</u>: 18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and 3551
- * et seq.
- * Bank Fraud Conspiracy
- *
- * <u>COUNTS 27</u>: 18 U.S.C. §§ 1344, 2, and
- * 3551 <u>et seq</u>.
- * Bank Fraud
- *
- * <u>COUNT 28–29</u>: 18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and
- * 3551 <u>et seq</u>.
- * Bank Fraud Conspiracy
 - Bank Hada Cons
- * <u>COUNT 30</u>: 18 U.S.C. §§ 1344, 2, and
- * 3551 <u>et seq</u>.
- * Bank Fraud
 - Dalik
- * <u>COUNT 31</u>: 18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and 3551
- * <u>et seq</u>.
- * Bank Fraud Conspiracy
- *
- * <u>COUNT 32</u>: 18 U.S.C. §§ 1344, 2, and
- * 3551 <u>et seq</u>.
- * Bank Fraud
- *
- * FORFEITURE NOTICE

*

SUPERSEDING INDICTMENT

February 2018 Term - At Alexandria, Virginia

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES THAT:

Introduction

At all times relevant to this Superseding Indictment:

1. Defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR. (MANAFORT) and RICHARD W. GATES III (GATES) served for years as political consultants and lobbyists. Between at least 2006 and 2015,

MANAFORT and GATES acted as unregistered agents of a foreign government and foreign political parties. Specifically, they represented the Government of Ukraine, the President of Ukraine (Victor Yanukovych, who was President from 2010 to 2014), the Party of Regions (a Ukrainian political party led by Yanukovych), and the Opposition Bloc (a successor to the Party of Regions after Yanukovych fled to Russia).

- 2. MANAFORT and GATES generated tens of millions of dollars in income as a result of their Ukraine work. From approximately 2006 through the present, MANAFORT and GATES engaged in a scheme to hide income from United States authorities, while enjoying the use of the money. During the first part of the scheme between approximately 2006 and 2015, MANAFORT, with GATES' assistance, failed to pay taxes on this income by disguising it as alleged "loans" from nominee offshore corporate entities and by making millions of dollars in unreported payments from foreign accounts to bank accounts they controlled and United States vendors. MANAFORT also used the offshore accounts to purchase United States real estate, and MANAFORT and GATES used the undisclosed income to make improvements to and refinance their United States properties.
- 3. In the second part of the scheme, between approximately 2015 and at least January 2017, when the Ukraine income dwindled after Yanukovych fled to Russia, MANAFORT, with the assistance of GATES, extracted money from MANAFORT's United States real estate by, among other things, using those properties as collateral to obtain loans from multiple financial institutions. MANAFORT and GATES fraudulently secured more than twenty million dollars in loans by falsely inflating MANAFORT's and his company's income and by failing to disclose existing debt in order to qualify for the loans.
- 4. In furtherance of the scheme, MANAFORT and GATES funneled millions of dollars in

payments into numerous foreign nominee companies and bank accounts, opened by them and their accomplices in nominee names and in various foreign countries, including Cyprus, Saint Vincent & the Grenadines (Grenadines), and the Seychelles. MANAFORT and GATES hid the existence and ownership of the foreign companies and bank accounts, falsely and repeatedly reporting to their tax preparers and to the United States that they had no foreign bank accounts.

- 5. In furtherance of the scheme, MANAFORT used his hidden overseas wealth to enjoy a lavish lifestyle in the United States, without paying taxes on that income. MANAFORT, without reporting the income to his tax preparer or the United States, spent millions of dollars on luxury goods and services for himself and his extended family through payments wired from offshore nominee accounts to United States vendors. MANAFORT also used these offshore accounts to purchase multi-million dollar properties in the United States and to improve substantially another property owned by his family.
- 6. In furtherance of the scheme, GATES used millions of dollars from these offshore accounts to pay for his personal expenses, including his mortgage, children's tuition, and interior decorating and refinancing of his Virginia residence.
- 7. In total, more than \$75,000,000 flowed through the offshore accounts. MANAFORT, with the assistance of GATES, laundered more than \$30,000,000, income that he concealed from the United States Department of the Treasury (Treasury), the Department of Justice, and others. GATES obtained more than \$3,000,000 from the offshore accounts, income that he too concealed from the Treasury, the Department of Justice, and others.

Relevant Individuals And Entities

- 8. MANAFORT was a United States citizen. He resided in homes in Virginia, Florida, and Long Island, New York.
- 9. GATES was a United States citizen. He resided in Virginia.
- 10. In 2005, MANAFORT and another partner created Davis Manafort Partners, Inc. (DMP) to engage principally in political consulting. DMP had staff in the United States, Ukraine, and Russia. In 2011, MANAFORT created DMP International, LLC (DMI) to engage in work for foreign clients, in particular political consulting, lobbying, and public relations for the Government of Ukraine, the Party of Regions, and members of the Party of Regions. DMI was a partnership solely owned by MANAFORT and his spouse. GATES worked for both DMP and DMI and served as MANAFORT's right-hand man.
- 11. The Party of Regions was a pro-Russia political party in Ukraine. Beginning in approximately 2006, it retained MANAFORT, through DMP and then DMI, to advance its interests in Ukraine, the United States, and elsewhere, including the election of its slate of candidates. In 2010, its candidate for President, Yanukovych, was elected President of Ukraine. In 2014, Yanukovych fled Ukraine for Russia in the wake of popular protests of widespread governmental corruption. Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the Government of Ukraine were MANAFORT, DMP, and DMI clients.
- 12. MANAFORT and GATES owned or controlled the following entities, which were used in the scheme (the MANAFORT-GATES entities):

Domestic Entities

Entity Name	Date Created	Incorporation Location
Bade LLC (RG)	January 2012	Delaware

Entity Name	Date Created .	Incorporation Location
Doigy Manafort II C (DM)	August 2008	Virginia
Daisy Manafort, LLC (PM)	March 2011	Florida
Davis Manafort International LLC (PM)	March 2007	Delaware
DMD (DM)	March 2005	Virginia
DMP (PM)	March 2011	Florida
Davis Manafort Inc. (DM)	October 1999	Delaware
Davis Manafort, Inc. (PM)	November 1999	Virginia
DMI (DM)	June 2011	Delaware
DMI (PM)	March 2012	Florida
Global Sites LLC (PM, RG)	July 2008	Delaware
Jemina LLC (RG)	July 2008	Delaware
Jesand Investment Corporation (PM)	April 2002	Virginia
Jesand Investments Corporation (PM)	March 2011	Florida
Library and the compo	April 2006	Virginia
John Hannah, LLC (PM)	March 2011	Florida
Jupiter Holdings Management, LLC (RG)	January 2011	Delaware
Lilred, LLC (PM)	December 2011	Florida
LOAV Ltd. (PM)	April 1992	Delaware
MC Brooklyn Holdings, LLC (PM)	November 2012	New York
MC Saha Haldinga LLC (DN)	January 2012	Florida
MC Soho Holdings, LLC (PM)	April 2012	New York
Smythson LLC (also known as Symthson LLC) (PM, RG)	July 2008	Delaware

Cypriot Entities

Entity Name	Date Created	Incorporation Location
Actinet Trading Limited (PM, RG)	May 2009	Cyprus
Black Sea View Limited (PM, RG)	August 2007	Cyprus
Bletilla Ventures Limited (PM, RG)	October 2010	Cyprus
Cavenari Investments Limited (RG)	December 2007	Cyprus
Global Highway Limited (PM, RG)	August 2007	Cyprus
Leviathan Advisors Limited (PM, RG)	August 2007	Cyprus
LOAV Advisors Limited (PM, RG)	August 2007	Cyprus
Lucicle Consultants Limited (PM, RG)	December 2008	Cyprus
Marziola Holdings Limited (PM)	March 2012	Cyprus
Olivenia Trading Limited (PM, RG)	March 2012	Cyprus
Peranova Holdings Limited (Peranova) (PM, RG)	June 2007	Cyprus
Serangon Holdings Limited (PM, RG)	January 2008	Cyprus
Yiakora Ventures Limited (PM)	February 2008	Cyprus

Other Foreign Entities

Entity Name	Date Created	Incorporation Location
Global Endeavour Inc. (also known as Global Endeavor Inc.) (PM)	Unknown	Grenadines
Jeunet Ltd. (PM)	August 2011	Grenadines
Pompolo Limited (PM, RG)	April 2013	United Kingdom

13. The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) was a bureau in the Treasury responsible for administering the tax laws of the United States and collecting taxes owed to the Treasury.

The Tax Scheme

MANAFORT And GATES' Wiring Money From Offshore Accounts Into The United States

- 14. In order to use the money in the offshore nominee accounts of the MANAFORT-GATES entities without paying taxes on it, MANAFORT and GATES caused millions of dollars in wire transfers from these accounts to be made for goods, services, and real estate. They did not report these transfers as income.
- 15. From 2008 to 2014, MANAFORT caused the following wires, totaling over \$12,000,000, to be sent to the vendors listed below for personal items. MANAFORT did not pay taxes on this income, which was used to make the purchases.

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
Vendor A	6/10/2008	LOAV Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$107,000
(Home	6/25/2008	LOAV Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$23,500
Improvement	7/7/2008	LOAV Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$20,000
Company in the	8/5/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$59,000
Hamptons, New	9/2/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$272,000
York)	10/6/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$109,000
	10/24/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$107,800
	11/20/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$77,400
	12/22/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$100,000
	1/14/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$9,250
	1/29/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$97,670
	2/25/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$108,100
	4/16/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$94,394
	5/7/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$54,000
	5/12/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$9,550
	6/1/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$86,650
	6/18/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$34,400
····	7/31/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$106,000

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
	8/28/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$37,000
	9/23/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$203,500
	10/26/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$38,800
	11/18/2009	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$130,906
	3/8/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$124,000
	5/11/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$25,000
	7/8/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$28,000
	7/23/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$26,500
	8/12/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$138,900
	9/2/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$31,500
	10/6/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$67,600
	10/14/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$107,600
	10/18/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$31,500
	12/16/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$46,160
	2/7/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$36,500
	3/22/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$26,800
	4/4/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$195,000
	5/3/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$95,000
	5/16/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$6,500
	5/31/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$70,000
	6/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$39,900
	7/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$95,000
	10/24/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$22,000
	10/25/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$9,300
	11/15/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$74,000
	11/23/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$22,300
	11/29/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$6,100
	12/12/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$17,800
	1/17/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$29,800
	1/20/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$42,600
	2/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$22,300
	2/23/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$75,000
	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$22,300
	3/28/2012	Peranova	Cyprus	\$37,500
	4/18/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
	5/15/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$79,000
	6/5/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$45,000
	6/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$11,860

Payee	Transaction	Originating Account	Country of	Amount of
	Date 7/9/2012	Holder Lucicle Consultants Limited	Origination	Transaction
			Cyprus	\$10,800
	7/18/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$88,000
	8/7/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$48,800
	9/27/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$100,000
	11/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$298,000
	12/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$55,000
	1/29/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$149,000
	3/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$375,000
	8/29/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$200,000
	11/13/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$75,000
	11/26/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$80,000
	12/6/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$130,000
	12/12/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$90,000
	4/22/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$56,293
	8/18/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$34,660
		V	endor A Total	\$5,434,793
Vendor B	3/22/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
(Home	3/28/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$25,000
Automation,	4/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
Lighting and	5/16/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$25,000
Home	11/15/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$17,006
Entertainment	11/23/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$11,000
Company in	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$6,200
Florida)	10/31/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$290,000
	12/17/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$160,600
	1/15/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$194,000
	1/24/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$6,300
	2/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$51,600
	2/26/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$260,000
	7/15/2013	Pompolo Limited	United Kingdom	\$175,575
	11/5/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$73,000
		V	endor B Total	\$1,319,281
Vendor C	10/7/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$15,750
(Antique Rug	3/17/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$46,200
Store in	4/16/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$7,400
Alexandria,	4/27/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$65,000
Virginia)	5/7/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$210,000
	3, 1,2007	10	Cyprus	Ψ210,000

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
Company of the Compan	7/15/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$200,000
	3/31/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$200,000
	6/16/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	
	0/10/2010		endor C Total	\$250,000
Vandan D		v	endor C Total	\$934,350
Vendor D (Related to	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$100,000
Vendor C)	2/20/2012	Clock Highway Eminod	Cypius	\$100,000
	l	V	endor D Total	\$100,000
Vendor E	11/7/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$32,000
(Men's Clothing	2/5/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$22,750
Store in New	4/27/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$13,500
York)	10/26/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$32,500
,	3/30/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$15,000
	5/11/2010	Global Highway Limited		
	6/28/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus Cyprus	\$39,000
	8/12/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited		\$5,000
	11/17/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$32,500
	2/7/2011	Global Highway Limited Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$11,500
	3/22/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$24,000
	3/28/2011		Cyprus	\$43,600
	4/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
		Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$3,000
	6/30/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$24,500
	9/26/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
	11/2/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$26,700
	12/12/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$46,000
	2/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$2,800
:	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$16,000
	3/14/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$8,000
	4/18/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$48,550
	5/15/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$7,000
	6/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$21,600
	8/7/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$15,500
	11/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$10,900
	12/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$7,500
	1/15/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$37,000
	2/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$7,000
	2/26/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$39,000
	9/3/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$81,500

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
	10/15/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$53,000
	11/26/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$13,200
	4/24/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$26,680
	9/11/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$58,435
		v	endor E Total	\$849,215
Vendor F	4/27/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$34,000
(Landscaper in	5/12/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$45,700
the Hamptons,	6/1/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$21,500
New York)	6/18/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$29,000
	9/21/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$21,800
	5/11/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$44,000
	6/28/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
	7/23/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$19,000
	9/2/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$21,000
	10/6/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$57,700
	10/18/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$26,000
	12/16/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$20,000
	3/22/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
	5/3/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$40,000
	6/1/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$44,000
	7/27/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$27,000
	8/16/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$13,450
	9/19/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$12,000
	10/24/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$42,000
	11/2/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$37,350
		V	endor F Total	\$655,500
Vendor G	9/2/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$165,000
(Antique Dealer	10/18/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$165,000
in New York)	2/28/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$190,600
	3/14/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$75,000
	2/26/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$28,310
		V	endor G Total	\$623,910
Vendor H	6/25/2008	LOAV Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$52,000
(Clothing Store	12/16/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$49,000
in Beverly Hills,	12/22/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$10,260
California)	8/12/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$76,400
	5/11/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$85,000
	11/17/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$128,280

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
	5/31/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$64,000
	11/15/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$48,000
	12/17/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$7,500
		v	endor H Total	\$520,440
Vendor I (Investment Company)	9/3/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$500,000
			endor I Total	\$500,000
Vendor J	11/15/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$8,000
(Contractor in	12/5/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$11,237
Florida)	12/21/2011	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$20,000
	2/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$51,000
	5/17/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$68,000
	6/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$60,000
	7/18/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$32,250
	9/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$112,000
	11/30/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$39,700
	1/9/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$25,600
	2/28/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$4,700
		V	endor J Total	\$432,487
Vendor K	12/5/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$4,115
(Landscaper in	3/1/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
the Hamptons,	6/6/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$47,800
New York)	6/25/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$17,900
	6/27/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$18,900
	2/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$3,300
	7/15/2013	Pompolo Limited	United Kingdom	\$13,325
	11/26/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$9,400
		Vo	endor K Total	\$164,740
Vendor L	4/12/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$83,525
(Payments	5/2/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$12,525
Relating to Three Range Rovers)	6/29/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$67,655
		V	endor L Total	\$163,705
Vendor M	11/20/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$45,000
	12/7/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$21,000

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
(Contractor in	12/17/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$21,000
Virginia)	1/17/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$18,750
	1/29/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$9,400
	2/12/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$10,500
		V	endor M Total	\$125,650
Vendor N	1/29/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
(Audio, Video,	3/17/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$21,725
and Control	4/16/2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$24,650
System Home	12/2/2009	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
Integration and	3/8/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$20,300
Installation	4/23/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$8,500
Company in the Hamptons, New York)	7/29/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$17,650
		V	endor N Total	\$112,825
Vendor O (Purchase of Mercedes Benz)	10/5/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$62,750
		V	endor O Total	\$62,750
Vendor P (Purchase of Range Rover)	12/30/2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$47,000
		V	endor P Total	\$47,000
Vendor Q	9/2/2010	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
(Property	10/6/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
Management	10/18/2010	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$10,000
Company in	2/8/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$13,500
South Carolina)	2/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$2,500
		V	endor Q Total	\$46,000
Vendor R	2/9/2011	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$17,900
(Art Gallery in Florida)	2/14/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$14,000
		V	endor R Total	\$31,900
Vendor S	9/26/2011	Leviathan Advisors Limited	Cyprus	\$5,000
	9/19/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$5,000

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
(Housekeeping in New York)	10/9/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$10,000
			Vendor S Total	\$20,000

16. In 2012, MANAFORT caused the following wires to be sent to the entities listed below to purchase the real estate also listed below. MANAFORT did not report the money used to make these purchases on his 2012 tax return.

Property Purchased	Payee	Date	Originating Account	Country of Origin	Amount
Howard Street Condominium (New York)	DMP International LLC	2/1/2012	Peranova	Cyprus	\$1,500,000
Brownstone, (New York) Account [Real Es	Attorney Account Of	11/29/2012	Actinet Trading Limited	Cyprus	\$1,800,000
	[Real Estate Attorney]	11/29/2012	Actinet Trading Limited	Cyprus	\$1,200,000
Arlington House (Virginia)	Real Estate Trust	8/31/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$1,900,000
	·			Total	\$6,400,000

17. MANAFORT and GATES also disguised, as purported "loans," more than \$10 million transferred from Cypriot entities, including the overseas MANAFORT–GATES entities, to domestic entities owned by MANAFORT. For example, a \$1.5 million wire from Peranova to DMI that MANAFORT used to purchase real estate on Howard Street in Manhattan, New York, was recorded as a "loan" from Peranova to DMI, rather than as income. The following loans were shams designed to reduce fraudulently MANAFORT's reported taxable income.

Year	Payor / Ostensible "Lender"	Payee / Ostensible "Borrower"	Country of Origin	Total Amount of "Loans"
2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Jesand Investment Corporation	Cyprus	\$8,120,000
2008	Yiakora Ventures Limited	DMP	Cyprus	\$500,000
2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	DMP	Cyprus	\$694,000
2009	Yiakora Ventures Limited	Daisy Manafort, LLC	Cyprus	\$500,000
2012	Peranova	DMI	Cyprus	\$1,500,000
2014	Telmar Investments Ltd.	DMI	Cyprus	\$900,000
2015	Telmar Investments Ltd.	DMI	Cyprus	\$1,000,000
Luaver Co.		A STATE OF THE STA	Total	\$13,214,000

18. From 2010 to 2014, GATES caused the following wires, totaling more than \$3,000,000, to be sent to entities and bank accounts of which he was a beneficial owner or he otherwise controlled.

GATES did not report this income on his tax returns.

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
Richard Gates	3/26/2010	Serangon Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$85,000
United Kingdom	4/20/2010	Serangon Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
Bank Account A	5/6/2010	Serangon Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$150,000
Richard Gates	9/7/2010	Serangon Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$160,000
United Kingdom Bank Account B	10/13/2010	Serangon Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$15,000
Richard Gates United States Bank Account C	9/27/2010	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$50,000
The state of the s	2011 2 CONT. 1	The second secon	Tax Year Total	\$510,000
Jemina LLC United States Bank Account D	9/9/2011	Peranova	Cyprus	\$48,500
Richard Gates United Kingdom Bank Account B	12/16/2011	Peranova	Cyprus	\$100,435
March		2011	Tax Year Total	\$148,935
Richard Gates	1/9/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$100,000
United Kingdom Bank Account B	1/13/2012	Peranova	Cyprus	\$100,435
	2/29/2012	Global Highway Limited	Cyprus	\$28,500
	3/27/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$18,745

Payee Transaction Originating Account Date Holder		Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction	
	4/26/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$26,455
	5/30/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$15,000
	5/30/2012	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$14,650
	6/27/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$18,745
8/2/2012 Bleti		Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$28,745
		Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$38,745
	9/27/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$32,345
	10/31/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$46,332
	11/20/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$48,547
	11/30/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$38,532
	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$47,836
	12/28/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$47,836
And the second s		2012	Tax Year Total	\$651,448
Richard Gates	1/11/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$47,836
United Kingdom	1/22/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$34,783
Bank Account B	1/30/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$46,583
	2/22/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$46,233
	2/28/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$46,583
	3/1/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$42,433
	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$37,834
	4/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$59,735
	4/26/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$48,802
	5/17/2013	Olivenia Trading Limited	Cyprus	\$57,798
	5/30/2013	Actinet Trading Limited	Cyprus	\$45,622
	6/13/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$76,343
	8/7/2013	Pompolo Limited	United Kingdom	\$250,784
	9/6/2013	Lucicle Consultants Limited	Cyprus	\$68,500
	9/13/2013	Cypriot Agent	Cyprus	\$179,216
Jemina LLC	7/8/2013	Marziola Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$72,500
United States	9/4/2013	Marziola Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$89,807
Bank Account D	10/22/2013	Cypriot Agent	Cyprus	\$119,844
	11/12/2013	Cypriot Agent	Cyprus	\$80,000
	12/20/2013	Cypriot Agent	Cyprus	\$90,000
		regional New Control of the Control	Tax Year Total	\$1,541,237
Jemina LLC	2/10/2014	Cypriot Agent	Cyprus	\$60,044
United States	4/29/2014	Cypriot Agent	Cyprus	\$44,068
Bank Account D	10/6/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$65,000

Payee	Transaction Date	Originating Account Holder	Country of Origination	Amount of Transaction
Bade LLC United States Bank Account E	11/25/2014	Global Endeavour Inc.	Grenadines	\$120,000
		2014	Tax Year Total	\$289,112

MANAFORT And GATES' Hiding Foreign Bank Accounts And False Filings

- 19. United States citizens who have authority over certain foreign bank accounts—whether or not the accounts are set up in the names of nominees who act for their principals—have reporting obligations to the United States.
- 20. First, the Bank Secrecy Act and its implementing regulations require United States citizens to report to the Treasury any financial interest in, or signatory authority over, any bank account or other financial account held in foreign countries, for every calendar year in which the aggregate balance of all such foreign accounts exceeds \$10,000 at any point during the year. This is commonly known as a foreign bank account report or "FBAR." The Bank Secrecy Act requires these reports because they have a high degree of usefulness in criminal, tax, or regulatory investigations or proceedings. The Treasury's Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN) is the custodian for FBAR filings, and FinCEN provides access to its FBAR database to law enforcement entities, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The reports filed by individuals and businesses are used by law enforcement to identify, detect, and deter money laundering that furthers criminal enterprise activity, tax evasion, and other unlawful activities.
- 21. Second, United States citizens also are obligated to report information to the IRS regarding foreign bank accounts. For instance, in 2010, Schedule B of IRS Form 1040 had a "Yes" or "No" box to record an answer to the question: "At any time during [the calendar year], did you have an interest in or a signature or other authority over a financial account in a foreign country, such as a

bank account, securities account, or other financial account?" If the answer was "Yes," then the form required the taxpayer to enter the name of the foreign country in which the financial account was located.

- 22. For each year in or about and between 2008 through at least 2014, MANAFORT had authority over foreign accounts that required an FBAR filing. Specifically, MANAFORT was required to report to the Treasury each foreign bank account held by the foreign MANAFORT—GATES entities noted above in paragraph 12 that bears the initials PM. No FBAR filings were made by MANAFORT for these accounts.
- 23. For each year in or about and between 2010 through at least 2013, GATES had authority over foreign accounts that required an FBAR filing. Specifically, GATES was required to report to the United States Treasury each foreign bank account held by the foreign MANAFORT—GATES entities noted above in paragraph 12 that bears the initials RG, as well as United Kingdom Bank Accounts A and B noted in paragraph 18. No FBAR filings were made by GATES for these accounts.
- 24. Furthermore, in each of MANAFORT's tax filings for 2008 through 2014, MANAFORT, with the assistance of GATES, represented falsely that he did not have authority over any foreign bank accounts. MANAFORT and GATES had repeatedly and falsely represented in writing to MANAFORT's tax preparer that MANAFORT had no authority over foreign bank accounts, knowing that such false representations would result in false tax filings in MANAFORT's name. For instance, on October 4, 2011, MANAFORT's tax preparer asked MANAFORT in writing: "At any time during 2010, did you [or your wife or children] have an interest in or a signature or other authority over a financial account in a foreign country, such as a bank account, securities account or other financial account?" On the same day, MANAFORT falsely responded "NO."

MANAFORT responded the same way as recently as October 3, 2016, when MANAFORT's tax preparer again emailed the question in connection with the preparation of MANAFORT's tax returns: "Foreign bank accounts etc.?" MANAFORT responded on or about the same day: "NONE."

25. In each of GATES' tax filings for 2010 through 2013, GATES represented falsely that he did not have authority over any foreign bank accounts. GATES had repeatedly and falsely represented to his tax preparers that he had no authority over foreign bank accounts, knowing that such false representations would result in false tax filings. As recently as October 2017, in preparation for his amended 2013 tax filing, GATES was asked by his tax preparer: "Did you have any foreign assets/bank accounts during 2013 or 2014?" to which he responded "no."

The Financial Institution Scheme

26. Between in or around 2015 and the present, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, MANAFORT, GATES, and others devised and intended to devise, and executed and attempted to execute, a scheme and artifice to defraud, and to obtain money and property, by means of false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises, from banks and other financial institutions. As part of the scheme, MANAFORT and GATES repeatedly provided and caused to be provided false information to banks and other lenders, among others.

MANAFORT And GATES' Fraud To Access Offshore Money

27. When they were flush with Ukraine funds, MANAFORT, with the assistance of GATES, used their offshore accounts to purchase and improve real estate in the United States. When the income from Ukraine dwindled in 2014 and 2015, MANAFORT, with the assistance of GATES, obtained millions of dollars in mortgages on the United States properties, thereby allowing

MANAFORT to have the benefits of liquid income without paying taxes on it. MANAFORT and GATES defrauded the lenders in various ways, including by lying about MANAFORT's and DMI's income, lying about their debt, and lying about MANAFORT's use of the property and the loan proceeds. For example, MANAFORT and GATES submitted fabricated profit and loss statements (P&Ls) that inflated income, and they caused others to provide doctored financial documents.

A. The Loan From Lender A On The Union Street Property

- 28. In 2012, MANAFORT, through a corporate vehicle called "MC Brooklyn Holdings, LLC" owned by him and his family, bought a brownstone on Union Street in the Carroll Gardens section of Brooklyn, New York. He paid approximately \$3,000,000 in cash for the property. All of that money came from a MANAFORT—GATES entity in Cyprus. After purchase of the property, MANAFORT began renovations to transform it from a multi-family dwelling into a single-family home. MANAFORT used proceeds of a 2015 loan obtained from a financial institution to make the renovations. In order to obtain that loan, MANAFORT falsely represented to the bank that he did not derive more than 50% of his income/wealth from a country outside the United States.
- 29. In late 2015 through early 2016, MANAFORT sought to borrow cash against the Union Street property from Lender A. Lender A provided greater loan amounts for "construction loans"—that is, loans that required the loan funds to be used to pay solely for construction on the property and thus increase the value of the property serving as the loan's collateral. The institution would thus loan money against the expected completed value of the property, which in the case of the Union Street property was estimated to be \$8,000,000. In early 2016, MANAFORT was able to obtain a loan of approximately \$5,000,000, after promising Lender A that approximately \$1,400,000 of the loan would be used solely for construction on the Union Street property.

MANAFORT never intended to limit use of the proceeds to construction as required by the loan contracts and never did. In December 2015, before the loan was made, MANAFORT wrote his tax preparer, among others, that the "construction mortgage will allow me to pay back [another Manafort apartment] mortgage in full. . . ." Further, when the construction loan closed, MANAFORT used hundreds of thousands of dollars for purposes unrelated to the construction of the property.

B. The Loan From Lender B On The Howard Street Property

- 30. In 2012, MANAFORT, through a corporate vehicle called "MC Soho Holdings, LLC" owned by him and his family, bought a condominium on Howard Street in the Soho neighborhood of Manhattan, New York. He paid approximately \$2,850,000. All the money used to purchase the condominium came from MANAFORT—GATES entities in Cyprus. MANAFORT used the property from at least January 2015 through at least August 2017 as an income-generating rental property, charging thousands of dollars a week on Airbnb, among other places. On his tax returns, MANAFORT took advantage of the beneficial tax consequences of owning this rental property.
- 31. In late 2015 through early 2016, MANAFORT applied for a mortgage on the Howard Street condominium from Lender B for approximately \$3.4 million. Because the bank would permit a greater loan amount if the property were owner-occupied, MANAFORT falsely represented to the lender and its agents that it was a secondary home used as such by his daughter and son-in-law and was not held as a rental property. In an email on January 6, 2016, MANAFORT noted: "[i]n order to have the maximum benefit, I am claiming Howard St. as a second home. Not an investment property." Later, on January 26, 2016, MANAFORT wrote to his son-in-law to advise him that when the bank appraiser came to assess the condominium, his son-in-law should "[r]emember, he believes that you and [MANAFORT's daughter] are living there."

- 32. MANAFORT, with GATES' assistance, also made a series of false and fraudulent representations to the bank in order to secure the millions of dollars in financing. For example, MANAFORT falsely represented the amount of debt he had by failing to disclose on his loan application the existence of the Lender A mortgage on his Union Street property. That liability would have risked his qualifying for the loan. Through its own due diligence, Lender B found evidence of the existing mortgage on the Union Street property. As a result, Lender B wrote to MANAFORT and GATES that the "application has the following properties as being owned free & clear . . . Union Street," but "[b]ased on the insurance binders that we received last night, we are showing that there are mortgages listed on these properties, can you please clarify[?]"
- 33. To cover up the falsity of the loan application, GATES, on MANAFORT's behalf, caused an insurance broker to provide Lender B false information, namely, an outdated insurance report that did not list the Union Street loan. MANAFORT and GATES knew such a representation was fraudulent. After GATES contacted the insurance broker and asked her to provide Lender B with false information, he updated MANAFORT by email on February 24, 2016. MANAFORT replied to GATES, on the same day: "good job on the insurance issues."
- 34. MANAFORT and GATES submitted additional false and fraudulent statements to Lender B. For example, MANAFORT submitted 2014 DMI tax returns to support his 2016 loan application to Lender B. Those tax returns included as a purported liability a \$1.5 million loan from Peranova. Peranova was a Cypriot entity controlled by MANAFORT and GATES. On or about February 1, 2012, Peranova transferred \$1.5 million to a DMI account in the United States, denominating the transfer as a loan so that MANAFORT would not have to declare the money as income. MANAFORT used the "loan" to acquire the Howard Street property.
- 35. When MANAFORT needed to obtain a loan from Lender B, the existence of the Peranova

"loan" undermined his creditworthiness. As a result of the listed Peranova liability, Lender B was not willing to make the loan to MANAFORT. To circumvent this issue, MANAFORT and GATES caused MANAFORT's tax accountant to send to Lender B back-dated documentation that falsely stated that the \$1.5 million Peranova loan had been forgiven in 2015, and falsely inflated income for 2015 to mask MANAFORT's 2015 drop in income.

36. In March 2016, Lender B approved the loan in the amount of approximately \$3.4 million (the \$3.4 million loan).

C. The Loan From Lender C

- 37. In approximately February 2016, MANAFORT applied for a business loan from Lender C. MANAFORT made a series of false statements to Lender C. For example, MANAFORT submitted a false statement of assets and liabilities that failed to disclosed the Lender A loan on the Union Street property and misrepresented, among other things, the amount of the mortgage on the Howard Street property.
- 38. Further, in approximately March 2016, MANAFORT and GATES submitted a doctored 2015 DMI P&L that overstated DMI's 2015 income by more than \$4 million. GATES asked DMI's bookkeeper to send him a "Word Document version of the 2015 P&L for [DMI]" because MANAFORT wanted GATES "to add the accrual revenue which we have not received in order to send to [Lender C]." The bookkeeper said she could send a .pdf version of the P&L. GATES then asked the bookkeeper to increase the DMI revenue, falsely claiming that: "[w]e have \$2.4m in accrued revenue that [MANAFORT] wants added to the [DMI] 2015 income. Can you make adjustments on your end and then just send me a new scanned version[?]" The bookkeeper refused since the accounting method DMI used did not permit recording income before it was actually received.

39. Having failed to secure a falsified P&L from the bookkeeper, GATES falsified the P&L. GATES wrote to MANAFORT and another conspirator, "I am editing Paul's 2015 P&L statement." GATES then sent the altered P&L to Lender C, which claimed approximately \$4.45 million in net income, whereas the true P&L had less than \$400,000 in net income.

D. The Loan From Lender B On The Union Street Property

40. In March 2016, MANAFORT, with the assistance of GATES and others, applied for a \$5.5 million loan from Lender B on the Union Street property. As part of the loan process, MANAFORT submitted a false statement of assets and liabilities that hid his prior loan from Lender A on the Union Street property, among other liabilities. In addition, another conspirator on MANAFORT's behalf submitted a falsified 2016 DMI P&L. The falsified 2016 DMI P&L overstated DMI's income by more than \$2 million, which was the amount that Lender B told MANAFORT he needed to qualify for the loan. When the document was first submitted to Lender B, a conspirator working at Lender B replied: "Looks Dr'd. Can't someone just do a clean excel doc and pdf to me??" A subsequent version was submitted to the bank.

E. The Loans From Lender D On The Bridgehampton And Union Street Properties

41. In 2016, MANAFORT sought a mortgage on property in Bridgehampton, New York from a financial institution. In connection with his application, MANAFORT falsely represented to the bank that DMI would be receiving \$2.4 million in income later in the year for work on a "democratic development consulting project." To support this representation, GATES, on MANAFORT's behalf, provided the bank with a fake invoice for \$2.4 million, directed "To Whom It May Concern," for "[s]ervices rendered per the consultancy agreement pertaining to the parliamentary elections." The bank, unwilling to rely on the invoice to support MANAFORT's stated 2016 income, requested additional information. The bank was unable to obtain satisfactory

support for the stated income, and the loan application was denied.

- 42. MANAFORT applied to a second bank, Lender D. Between approximately July 2016 and January 2017, MANAFORT, with the assistance of GATES, sought and secured approximately \$16,000,000 in two loans from Lender D. MANAFORT used the Bridgehampton property as collateral for one loan, and the Union Street property for the other.
- 43. MANAFORT and GATES made numerous false and fraudulent representations to secure the loans. For example, MANAFORT provided the bank with doctored P&Ls for DMI for both 2015 and 2016, overstating its income by millions of dollars. The doctored 2015 DMI P&L submitted to Lender D was the same false statement previously submitted to Lender C, which overstated DMI's income by more than \$4 million. The doctored 2016 DMI P&L was inflated by MANAFORT by more than \$3.5 million. To create the false 2016 P&L, on or about October 21, 2016, MANAFORT emailed GATES a .pdf version of the real 2016 DMI P&L, which showed a loss of more than \$600,000. GATES converted that .pdf into a "Word" document so that it could be edited, which GATES sent back to MANAFORT. MANAFORT altered that "Word" document by adding more than \$3.5 million in income. He then sent this falsified P&L to GATES and asked that the "Word" document be converted back to a .pdf, which GATES did and returned to MANAFORT. MANAFORT then sent the falsified 2016 DMI P&L .pdf to Lender D.
- 44. In addition, Lender D questioned MANAFORT about a \$300,000 delinquency on his American Express card, which was more than 90 days past due. The delinquency significantly affected MANAFORT's credit rating score. MANAFORT falsely represented to Lender D that he had lent his credit card to a friend, GATES, who had incurred the charges and had not reimbursed him. MANAFORT supplied Lender D a letter from GATES that falsely stated that

GATES had borrowed MANAFORT's credit card to make the purchases at issue and would pay him back by a date certain.

Statutory Allegations

COUNTS ONE THROUGH FIVE

(Subscribing to False United States Individual Income Tax Returns For 2010–2014 Tax Years)

- 45. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 46. On or about the dates specified below, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendant PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., willfully and knowingly did make and subscribe, and aid and abet and cause to be made and subscribed, United States Individual Income Tax Returns, Forms 1040 and Schedule B, for the tax years set forth below, which returns contained and were verified by the written declaration of MANAFORT that they were made under penalties of perjury, and which returns MANAFORT did not believe to be true and correct as to every material matter, in that the returns (a) claimed that MANAFORT did not have a financial interest in and signature and other authority over a financial account in a foreign country and (b) failed to report income, whereas MANAFORT then and there well knew and believed that he had a financial interest in, and signature and other authority over, bank accounts in a foreign country and had earned total income in excess of the reported amounts noted below:

	TAX YEAR	APPROX. FILING DATE	FOREIGN ACCOUNT REPORTED (Sch. B, Line 7a)	TOTAL INCOME REPORTED (Line 22)
1	2010	October 14, 2011	None	\$504,744
2	2011	October 15, 2012	None	\$3,071,409
3	2012	October 7, 2013	None	\$5,361,007
4	2013	October 6, 2014	None	\$1,910,928
5	2014	October 14, 2015	None	\$2,984,210

(26 U.S.C. § 7206(1); 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNTS SIX THROUGH TEN

(Assisting in the Preparation of False United States Individual Income Tax Returns For 2010–2014 Tax Years)

- 47. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 48. On or about the dates specified below, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendant RICHARD W. GATES III willfully and knowingly did aid and assist in, and procure, counsel, and advise the preparation and presentation to the Internal Revenue Service, of a United States Individual Income Tax Return, Form 1040 and Schedule B, of PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., for the tax years set forth below, which returns were false and fraudulent as to a material matter, in that the returns (a) claimed that MANAFORT did not have a financial interest in, and signature and other authority over, a financial account in a foreign country and (b) failed to report income, whereas GATES then and there well knew and believed that MANAFORT had a financial interest in, and signature and other authority over, bank accounts in a foreign country and had earned total income in excess of the reported amounts noted below:

COUNT	TAX YEAR	APPROX. FILING DATE	FOREIGN ACCOUNT REPORTED (Sch. B, Line 7a)	TOTAL INCOME REPORTED (Line 22)
6	2010	October 14, 2011	None	\$504,744
7	2011	October 15, 2012	None	\$3,071,409
8	2012	October 7, 2013	None	\$5,361,007
9	2013	October 6, 2014	None	\$1,910,928
10	2014	October 14, 2015	None	\$2,984,210

(26 U.S.C. § 7206(2); 18 U.S.C. § 3551 et seq.)

COUNTS ELEVEN THROUGH FOURTEEN

(Failure To File Reports Of Foreign Bank And Financial Accounts For Calendar Years 2011–2014)

- 49. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 50. On the filing due dates listed below, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere,

defendant PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did fail to file with the Treasury an FBAR disclosing that he had a financial interest in, and signature and other authority over, a bank, securities, and other financial account in a foreign country, which had an aggregate value of more than \$10,000 in a 12-month period, during the years listed below:

COUNT	The state of the s	DUE DATE TO FILE FBAR
11	2011	June 29, 2012
12	2012	June 30, 2013
13	2013	June 30, 2014
14	2014	June 30, 2015

(31 U.S.C. §§ 5314 and 5322(a); 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNTS FIFTEEN THROUGH NINETEEN (Subscribing to False United States Individual Income Tax Returns For 2010–2014 Tax Years)

- 51. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 52. On or about the dates specified below, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendant RICHARD W. GATES III willfully and knowingly did make and subscribe, and aid and abet and cause to be made and subscribed, United States Individual Income Tax Returns, Forms 1040 and Schedule B, for the tax years set forth below, which returns contained and were verified by the written declaration of defendant GATES that they were made under penalties of perjury, and which returns defendant GATES did not believe to be true and correct as to every material matter, in that the returns (a) claimed that GATES did not have a financial interest in, and signature and other authority over, a financial account in a foreign country and (b) failed to report income, whereas GATES then and there well knew and believed that he had a financial interest in, and signature and other authority over, a financial account in a foreign country and had earned total income in excess of the reported amounts noted below:

COUNT	TAX YEAR	APPROX. FILING DATE	FOREIGN ACCOUNT REPORTED (Sch. B, Line 7a)	TOTAL INCOME REPORTED (Line 22)
15	2010	July 26, 2011	None	\$194,257
16	2011	October 11, 2012	None	\$250,307
17	2012	October 15, 2013	None	\$365,646
18	2013	October 15, 2014	None	\$307,363
19	2014	October 14, 2015	None	\$292,892

(26 U.S.C. § 7206(1); 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT TWENTY

(Subscribing to a False Amended United States Individual Income Tax Return For 2013 Tax Year)

- 53. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 54. On or about October 25, 2017, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendant RICHARD W. GATES III willfully and knowingly did make and subscribe, and aid and abet and cause another to make and subscribe, a United States Individual Income Tax Return, Form 1040X, for the 2013 tax year, which return contained and was verified by the written declaration of defendant GATES that it was made under penalties of perjury, and which return defendant GATES did not believe to be true and correct as to every material matter, in that the return failed to report income, whereas GATES then and there well knew and believed that he had earned adjusted gross income in excess of the reported amount on Line 1C, to wit: \$292,055.

(26 U.S.C. § 7206(1); 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNTS TWENTY-ONE THROUGH TWENTY-THREE

(Failure To File Reports Of Foreign Bank And Financial Accounts For Calendar Years 2011–2013)

- 55. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 56. On the filing due dates listed below, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendant RICHARD W. GATES III unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did fail to file with the

Treasury an FBAR disclosing that he had a financial interest in, and signature authority over, a bank, securities, and other financial account in a foreign country, which had an aggregate value of more than \$10,000 in a 12-month period, during the years listed below:

COUNT	YEAR	DUE DATE TO FILE FBAR
21	2011	June 29, 2012
22	2012	June 30, 2013
23	2013	June 30, 2014

(31 U.S.C. §§ 5314 and 5322(a); 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT TWENTY-FOUR

(Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Lender B / \$3.4 million loan)

- 57. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 58. On or about and between December 2015 and March 2016, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally conspire to execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender B, the deposits of which were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises, contrary to Title 18, United States Code, Section 1344.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT TWENTY-FIVE (Bank Fraud / Lender B / \$3.4 million loan)

- 59. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 60. On or about and between December 2015 and March 2016, both dates being approximate

and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally execute and attempt to execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender B, the deposits of which were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 1344, 2, and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT TWENTY-SIX

(Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Lender C / \$1 million loan)

- 61. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 62. On or about and between March 2016 and May 2016, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally conspire to execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender C, the deposits of which were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises, contrary to Title 18, United States Code, Section 1344.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT TWENTY-SEVEN (Bank Fraud / Lender C / \$1 million loan)

- 63. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 64. On or about and between December 2015 and March 2016, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J.

MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally execute and attempt to execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender C, the deposits of which were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 1344, 2, and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT TWENTY-EIGHT

(Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Lender B / \$5.5 million loan)

- 65. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 66. On or about and between March 2016 and August 2016, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally conspire to execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender B, the deposits of which were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises, contrary to Title 18, United States Code, Section 1344.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT TWENTY-NINE

(Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Lender D / \$9.5 million loan)

- 67. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 68. On or about and between April 2016 and November 2016, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally conspire to

execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender D, the deposits of which were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises, contrary to Title 18, United States Code, Section 1344.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT THIRTY (Bank Fraud / Lender D / \$9.5 million loan)

69. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.

70. On or about and between April 2016 and November 2016, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally execute and attempt to execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender D, the deposits of which were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises.

(18 U.S.C. § 1344, 2, and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT THIRTY-ONE (Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Lender D / \$6.5 million loan)

- 71. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 72. On or about and between April 2016 and January 2017, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally conspire to execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender D, the deposits of which

were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises, contrary to Title 18, United States Code, Section 1344.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 1349 and 3551 et seq.)

COUNT THIRTY-TWO (Bank Fraud / Lender D / \$6.5 million loan)

- 73. Paragraphs 1 through 44 are incorporated here.
- 74. On or about and between April 2016 and January 2017, both dates being approximate and inclusive, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III did knowingly and intentionally execute and attempt to execute a scheme and artifice to defraud one or more financial institutions, to wit: Lender D, the deposits of which were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and to obtain moneys, funds, and credits owned by and under the custody and control of such financial institution by means of materially false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises.

(18 U.S.C. §§ 1344, 2, and 3551 et seq.)

FORFEITURE NOTICE

75. Pursuant to Fed. R. Crim. P. 32.2, notice is hereby given to the defendants that the United States will seek forfeiture as part of any sentence in accordance with Title 18, United States Code, Section 982(a)(2), in the event of the defendants' convictions under Counts Twenty-Four through Thirty-Two of this Superseding Indictment. Upon conviction of the offenses charged in Counts Twenty-Four through Thirty-Two, defendants PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., and RICHARD W. GATES III shall forfeit to the United States any property constituting, or derived from, proceeds

obtained, directly or indirectly, as a result of such violation(s). Notice is further given that, upon conviction, the United States intends to seek a judgment against each defendant for a sum of money representing the property described in this paragraph, as applicable to each defendant (to be offset by the forfeiture of any specific property).

- 76. The grand jury finds probable cause to believe that the property subject to forfeiture by PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., includes, but is not limited to, the following listed assets:
 - a. All funds held in account number XXXXXX0969 at Lender D, and any property traceable thereto.

Substitute Assets

- 77. If any of the property described above as being subject to forfeiture, as a result of any act or omission of any defendant
 - a. cannot be located upon the exercise of due diligence;
 - b. has been transferred or sold to, or deposited with, a third party;
 - c. has been placed beyond the jurisdiction of the court;
 - d. has been substantially diminished in value; or
 - e. has been commingled with other property that cannot be subdivided without difficulty;

it is the intent of the United States of America, pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Section 982(b) and Title 28, United States Code, Section 2461(c), incorporating Title 21, United States Code, Section 853, to seek forfeiture of any other property of said defendant.

(18 U.S.C. § 982)

Robert S. Mueller, III

Special Counsel

Department of Justice

A TRUE BILL:
Pursuant to the E-Government Act,
the original of this page has been filed
under seal in the Clerk's Office.

Foreperson

Date: February 22, 2018

ATTACHMENT D

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA Alexandria Division



UNITED STATES OF AMER	ICA,)
v.) Criminal No. 1:18-CR-83
PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR., Defendant.)))
	JURY VERDICT FORM
We the jury find as follow	vs:
COUNT 1: Subscribing to False Not Guilty	United States Individual Income Tax Return for 2010 Guilty
,	United States Individual Income Tax Return for 2011 Guilty
/	United States Individual Income Tax Return for 2012 Guilty
	United States Individual Income Tax Return for 2013 Guilty
COUNT 5: Subscribing to False	United States Individual Income Tax Return for 2014
Not Guilty	Guilty

COUNT 11: Failure	to File Reports of For	reign Bank and Financial Accounts 2011
Not Guilty	Guilty	
COUNT 12: Failure		reign Bank and Financial Accounts 2012
Not Guilty	Guilty	
COUNT 13: Failure	to File Reports of Fo	reign Bank and Financial Accounts 2013
Not Guilty	Guilty	NO CONSENSUS 11 to 1
COUNT 14: Failure	to File Reports of Fo	reign Bank and Financial Accounts 2014
Not Guilty	Guilty	No CONSENSUS 11 to 1
COUNT 24: Bank Fr	raud Conspiracy on o	or about December 2015 to March 2016
Not Guilty	Guilty	No CONSENSUS 11 to 1
COUNT 25: Bank Fr	raud on or about Dece	ember 2015 to March 2016
Not Guilty	Guilty	
COUNT 26: Bank Fr	raud Conspiracy on o	or about March 2016 to May 2016
Not Guilty	Guilty	NO CONSENSUS 11 to 1

COUNT 27: Bank Frau	id on or about Decei	mber 2015 to March 2016
Not Guilty	Guilty	
COUNT 28: Bank Frau Not Guilty	ud Conspiracy on or Guilty	No CONSENSUS 11 to 1
COUNT 29: Bank Fran	ud Conspiracy on or	about April 2016 to November 2016
Not Guilty	Guilty	No Consensus 11 to 1
COUNT 30: Bank Fran	ud on or about April	2016 to November 2016
Not Guilty	Guilty	No CONSENSUS 11 to 1
COUNT 31: Bank Fran	ud Conspiracy on or	about April 2016 to January 2017
Not Guilty	Guilty	No CONSENSUS 11 to 1
COUNT 32: Bank Fra	aud on or about Apri	1 2016 to January 2017 G N
Not Guilty	Guilty	NO CONSENSUS 11 to 1
SO SAY WE ALL.		
08.21.18 Date		REDACTED

ATTACHMENT E

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA ALEXANDRIA DIVISION

IMITED	2TATF2	OEV	VEBICY

v.

PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR.,

Crim. No. 1:18-cr-83 (TSE)

Defendant.

THE GOVERNMENT'S SENTENCING MEMORANDUM

The United States of America, by and through Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller, III, files this submission to address the sentencing of defendant Paul J. Manafort, Jr.

As an initial matter, the government agrees with the guidelines analysis in the Presentence Investigation Report (PSR) and its calculation of the defendant's Total Offense Level as 38 with a corresponding range of imprisonment of 235 to 293 months, a fine range of \$50,000 to \$24,371,497.74, a term of supervised release of up to five years, restitution in the amount of \$24,815,108.74, and forfeiture in the amount of \$4,412,500.

Second, while the government does not take a position as to the specific sentence to be imposed here, the government sets forth below its assessment of the nature of the offenses and the characteristics of the defendant under Title 18, United States Code, Section 3553(a). The defendant stands convicted of the serious crimes of tax fraud, bank fraud, and failing to file a foreign bank account report. Manafort was the lead perpetrator and a direct beneficiary of each offense. And while some of these offenses are commonly prosecuted, there was nothing ordinary about the millions of dollars involved in the defendant's crimes, the duration of his

criminal conduct, or the sophistication of his schemes.¹ Together with the relevant criminal conduct, Manafort's misconduct involved more than \$16 million in unreported income resulting in more than \$6 million in federal taxes owed, more than \$55 million hidden in foreign bank accounts, and more than \$25 million secured from financial institutions through lies resulting in a fraud loss of more than \$6 million. Manafort committed these crimes over an extended period of time, from at least 2010 to 2016. His criminal decisions were not momentary or limited in time; they were routine. And Manafort's repeated misrepresentations to financial institutions were brazen, at least some of which were made at a time when he was the subject of significant national attention.

Neither the Probation Department nor the government is aware of any mitigating factors. Manafort did not commit these crimes out of necessity or hardship. He was well educated, professionally successful, and financially well off. He nonetheless cheated the United States Treasury and the public out of more than \$6 million in taxes at a time when he had substantial resources. Manafort committed bank fraud to supplement his liquidity because his lavish spending exhausted his substantial cash resources when his overseas income dwindled.

Finally, Manafort pled guilty in September 2018 in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia to others crimes committed over an even longer period. The government references those crimes below principally as they pertain to the Section 3553(a) factors and, in particular, because they demonstrate the defendant's concerted criminality, including the conduct to which he pled guilty, from as early as 2005 and continuing up until the

¹Manafort was being investigated prior to the May 2017 appointment of the Special Counsel by prosecutors in this district and the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. <u>See</u> Motion Hearing Tr., May 4, 2018, at 4.

defendant's involvement in an obstruction of justice conspiracy between February 23, 2018 and April 2018—a crime Manafort committed while under indictment in two jurisdictions and subject to court-ordered bail conditions in each. The District of Columbia offenses are also relevant to the application of § 2S1.3(b)(2) of the Sentencing Guidelines to the FBAR offenses and to the issue of acceptance of responsibility, as discussed below.

In the end, Manafort acted for more than a decade as if he were above the law, and deprived the federal government and various financial institutions of millions of dollars. The sentence here should reflect the seriousness of these crimes, and serve to both deter Manafort and others from engaging in such conduct.

I. Procedural History

On February 22, 2018, a grand jury sitting in the Eastern District of Virginia returned a 32-count Superseding Indictment charging Manafort and co-defendant Richard Gates with a series of crimes involving tax fraud, failure to file foreign bank account reports, and bank fraud. Superseding Indictment, Feb. 2, 2019, Doc. 9.

The defendant proceeded to trial on July 31, 2018 and, on August 21, the jury convicted the defendant on eight counts: Counts 1 through 5 (filing false income tax returns for the years 2010 to 2014); Count 12 (failing to file a report of foreign bank and financial accounts (FBAR) in 2012), and Counts 25 and 27 (bank fraud relating to a Citizens Bank loan for the Howard Street property in New York, and a Banc of California commercial loan, respectively). The jury did not reach a verdict on the remaining ten counts.²

²The Jury Verdict Form indicated that the jury voted eleven to one in favor of guilt on all ten counts for which it did not reach a verdict. <u>See</u> Jury Verdict Form, Aug. 21, 2018, Doc. 280.

II. Trial Evidence

Given the Court's familiarity with the trial evidence, the government only briefly outlines it below.

A. Tax Charges

Manafort's tax returns were false as to the stated income and the fact that in each year Manafort failed to report the existence of his overseas bank accounts. The government proved Manafort's unreported income through a series of payments from his overseas accounts to vendors for various goods and services and for the purchase and improvement of real estate in New York and Virginia.³ FBI Forensic Accountant Morgan Magionos traced each wire transfer, detailing the banks and accounts over the period from 2010 to 2014, and calculated the total

³The evidence supporting the false returns included both testimony and documentary evidence. Eight vendors testified about receiving payments from overseas accounts for goods, services, or real estate purchased by the defendant in the United States. See Trial Tr. at 285-312 (Testimony of Maximillian Katzman from Alan Couture); id. at 312-29 (Testimony of Ronald Wall from House of Bijan); id. at 339-49 (Testimony of Daniel Opsut from American Service Center/Mercedes-Benz of Alexandria); id. at 349-59 (Testimony of Wayne Holland from McEnearney Associates); id. at 361-91 (Testimony of Stephen Jacobson from SP&C Home Improvement); id. at 393-410 (Testimony of Doug DeLuca from Federal Stone and Brick); id. at 435-461 (Testimony of Joel Maxwell from Big Picture Solutions); id. at 469-91 (Testimony of Michael Regolizio from New Leaf Landscape). This testimony was corroborated by invoices, banks statements, emails, and other documentary evidence. See, e.g., Government Exhibit 94A (SP&C Home Improvement Invoices 2010-2014); Government Exhibit 95A (SP&C Home Improvement Bank Records); Government Exhibit 97A (Alan Couture Invoices 2010-2014); Government Exhibit 98 (Alan Couture Bank Records); Government Exhibit 99 (March 21, 2011 Email from Manafort to M. Katzman). Evidence with respect to six additional vendors and three real estate purchases, and supporting documentation, was admitted by stipulation. See e.g., Government Exhibit 327 (Stipulation Regarding Aegis Holdings, LLC); Government Exhibit 329 (Stipulation Regarding J&J Oriental Rug Gallery); Government Exhibit 332 (Stipulation Regarding Don Beyer Motors, Inc.); Government Exhibit 334 (Stipulation Regarding Sabatello Construction of Florida, Inc.); Government Exhibit 335 (Stipulation Regarding Scott L. Wilson Landscaping & Tree Specialists, Inc.); Government Exhibit 336 (Stipulation Regarding Sensoryphile, Inc.); Government Exhibit 328 (Stipulation Relating to the Purchase of 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New York); Government Exhibit 330 (Stipulation Relating to the Purchase of 29 Howard Street #4, New York, New York); Government Exhibit 331 (Stipulation Relating to the Purchase of 1046 N. Edgewood Street, Arlington, Virginia).

amount to be \$15,571,046, as reflected on Government Exhibit 72 (attached as Exhibit A).⁴
Additionally, the government proved that Manafort further misrepresented his income by falsely characterizing certain income as loans.⁵

IRS Revenue Agent Michael Welch testified that Manafort failed to report more than \$16 million in income on line 22 of his tax returns during tax years 2010 through 2014, as documented in Government Exhibit 77 (attached as Exhibit B).⁶ Welch also testified that Manafort failed to identify any of his foreign bank accounts on Schedule B, Line 7A for the years from 2010 to 2014.⁷ The IRS has determined that Manafort owed \$6,164,032 in taxes for his unreported income. See PSR, ¶ 36.

B. FBAR Charges

Manafort was found guilty of the Count 12 FBAR charge relating to 2012. Under the Sentencing Guidelines the FBAR charges in Counts 11, 13 and 14, for the years 2011, 2013, and 2014, respectively, constitute relevant conduct. See PSR, ¶ 75. FBI Forensic Accountant Magionos, using a series of charts, testified that Manafort maintained 31 overseas accounts in three countries and listed the aggregate maximum value in those accounts in each year from 2011 to 2014 as reflected on the following exhibits:⁸

• Government Exhibit 73B documented the aggregate maximum value of foreign bank accounts controlled by Manafort in 2011 that totaled approximately \$8.3 million;

⁴See Trial Tr. at 1617-20 (Testimony of Morgan Magionos).

⁵See Trial Tr. at 903-06 (Cindy LaPorta testified that Gates proposed changing the amount of Manafort's alleged loans to reduce his total taxable income); see id. at 1107-09 (Gates testified that at Manafort's direction he instructed Manafort's bookkeeper and tax preparers to treat certain income as loans to avoid paying taxes on the income).

⁶See Trial Tr. at 1679-82 (Testimony of Michael Welch).

⁷Id. at 1695-97.

⁸See Trial Tr. at 1620-24 (Testimony of Morgan Magionos).

- Government Exhibit 73C documented the aggregate maximum value of foreign bank accounts controlled by Manafort in 2012 that totaled approximately \$25.7 million;
- Government Exhibit 73D documented the aggregate maximum value of foreign bank accounts controlled by Manafort in 2013 that totaled approximately \$18.7 million;
- Government Exhibit 73E documented the aggregate maximum value of foreign bank accounts in 2014 that totaled approximately \$2.7 million.⁹

Copies of Government Exhibits 73B, 73C, 73D and 73E are attached as Exhibit C.

C. Bank Frauds

The jury convicted Manafort of the two bank fraud schemes charged in Counts 25 and 27.

Manafort sought both loans at a time when he was no longer receiving income from Ukraine.

Count 25 charged Manafort with defrauding Citizens Bank of \$3.4 million relating to a loan for property on Howard Street in New York, New York. As part of that fraud, the government proved at trial that the defendant made, or caused to be made, the following three material false statements between December 2015 and March 2016: (1) that the Howard Street residence was his second home; (2) that a \$1.5 million dollar loan from a Cyprus entity named Peranova had been forgiven in the prior year; and (3) that there was no mortgage on Manafort's Union Street property in Brooklyn, New York. Two bank witnesses, Manafort's tax preparer and bookkeeper, and Rick Gates testified to the details of the charged scheme. Their testimony

⁹Special Agent Paula Liss from the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network testified that no FBAR reports were filed by Manafort or his related entities in the relevant time period. <u>See</u> Trial Tr. at 1080-81; 2293-94.

¹⁰<u>See</u> Trial Tr. at 2409 (government summation identifying false statements relating to the Counts 24 and 25 Citizens Bank fraud/conspiracy charges involving the Howard Street property).

was corroborated by a series of emails, tax returns, and insurance documents, among other documentary evidence.¹¹

Manafort was also convicted, in Count 27, of defrauding the Banc of California with respect to a \$1 million dollar commercial loan. The government proved at trial that the defendant made, or caused to be made, the following material false statements: (1) omitting to report his Howard Street mortgage on his loan application; and (2) submitting a materially false 2015 DMP Profit and Loss Statement.¹² Among other evidence, Washkuhn and Gates testified about the false DMP Profit and Loss Statements submitted to the bank, with Gates explaining the various emails in which Manafort directed him to manipulate the relevant financial statement.¹³

¹¹Melinda James (née Francis) from Citizens Bank testified that Manafort represented the Howard Street property to be a second home and that Manafort represented that there was no mortgage on the Union Street property. See Trial Tr. at 1747, 1755. Tax preparer Cindy LaPorta testified about her representations relating to the Peranova loan to Citizens Bank, nothwithstanding the fact that she had concerns it was never a loan at all, see Trial Tr. at 944-59, as did Gates, who also noted that money from Peranova was income and was never a loan, see Trial Tr. at 1297-1308. Bookkeeper Heather Washkuhn testified that at the time of the Howard Street loan, there was a mortgage on the Union Street property. See Trial Tr. at 596-601. The supporting documentary evidence included the following: Government Exhibit 227 (Manafort's bank application identifying the Howard Street property as a second residence); Government Exhibit 337L (2015 MC Soho Tax Return reporting \$115,987 in rental income for Howard Street apartment); Government Exhibit 337M (2016 MC Soho Tax Return reporting \$108,000 in rental income for Howard Street apartment); Government Exhibit 127 (February 5, 2015 email relating to rental income from the Howard Street apartment); Government Exhibit 503 (March 12, 2016 email relating to rental earnings generated from the Howard Street property); Government Exhibit 422 (January 26, 2016 email from Manafort to his son-in-law reminding him that the appraiser is coming to the Howard Street apartment, who believes that the son-in-law and his wife live in the apartment); Government Exhibit 118 (Airbnb records relating to the rental of the Howard Street apartment); Government Exhibit 500 (Stipulation regarding Genesis Capital mortgage on Union Street Property).

¹²<u>See</u> Trial Tr. at 2418-21 (government summation identifying false statements relating to the Counts 26 and 27 Banc of California commercial loan fraud/conspiracy).

¹³Gates testified that at Manafort's direction he altered the 2015 DMP Profit and Loss Statement that was ultimately sent to the Banc of California. <u>See</u> Trial Tr. at 1317-26. Washkuhn testified to the falsity of the submitted 2015 DMP Profit and Loss Statement. <u>See</u> Trial Tr. at 601-19. The supporting documentary evidence included among other evidence: Government Exhibit 140 (March 16, 2016 emails between Gates and Washkuhn involving the 2015 DMP Profit and Loss Statement); Government Exhibit 392 (March 16, 2016 email between Manafort and Gates involving the 2015 DMP Profit and Loss Statement); and Government Exhibit 298 (March 16, 2016 email from Manafort to Perris Kaufman

With respect to the three other bank frauds for which the jury failed to reach a verdict, one involving a \$5.5 million loan from Citizens Bank (charged only as a conspiracy) and two involving loans from The Federal Savings Bank, one for \$9.5 million and the other for \$6.5 million, respectively, the defendant admitted to his involvement in each of these bank frauds as part of his guilty plea in the District of Columbia. The evidence at trial established those same facts through witness testimony and documentary evidence. The same of the same

With respect to the Union Street loan conspiracy involving Citizens Bank, charged in Count 28, Manafort pledged his property at 377 Union Street in Brooklyn, New York. At the

attaching false 2015 DMP Profit and Loss Statement). Gary Seferian, Senior Vice President of the Managed Assets Group at the Banc of California, testified about the loan process and the materiality of Manafort's false statements. See Trial Tr. at 1958-88.

¹⁴Plea Agreement, <u>United States v. Manafort</u>, 1:17-cr-201 (ABJ) (D.D.C. Sept.14, 2018), Doc 422 ("D.C. Plea Agreement"); Statement of the Offenses and Other Acts, <u>United States v. Manafort</u>, 1:17-cr-201 (ABJ) (D.D.C. Sept.14, 2018), Doc 423 ("D.C. Statement of the Offense") (collectively attached as Exhibit D).

¹⁵With respect to the Citizens Bank Union Street loan, Manafort made, or caused to be made, the following misrepresentations: (a) he caused to be submitted a false 2016 DMP Profit and Loss Statement; and (b) he falsely claimed the Peranova loan was forgiven and made false statements about his income. See Trial Tr. at 2418-21 (government summation identifying false statements relating to Counts 28 Citizens Bank Union Street loan conspiracy). Taryn Rodriguez from Citizens Bank testified about the loans process, see Trial Tr. at 1906-37, LaPorta testified about the Peranova loan issues, see id., at 947-59, as did Gates, see id. at 1326-30, and Washkuhn testified about the false DMP Profit and Loss Statement comparing it to the original she prepared, see id. at 631-32. With respect to The Federal Savings Bank loans, Manafort made, or caused to be made, the following misrepresentations as to both loans: (a) he caused to be submitted a false 2015 DMP Profit and Loss Statement; (b) he caused to be submitted a false 2016 DMP Profit and Loss Statement; (c) he falsely claimed that the \$300,000 delinquency on his American Express Card resulted from lending that credit card to Rick Gates to buy New York Yankees tickets; and (d) he made false statements about his mortgage on the Howard Street property. See Trial Tr. at 2423-24 (government summation identifying false statements relating to the Counts 29, 30, 31 and 32 bank fraud/conspiracies relating to two loans from The Federal Savings Bank). Three bank witnesses testified about The Federal Savings Bank Loans: Dennis Raico, see Trial Tr. at 2008-77; James Brennan, id. at 2164-2199; and Andrew Chojnowski, see id. at 2129-43. Among other testimony, Washkuhn identified the various submitted DMP Profit and Loss Statements as false. See Trial Tr. at 620-32. Gates testified that he never sought to borrow Manafort's American Express card and that he did not incur the \$300,000 delinquency for Yankees tickets, but rather that those tickets were for Manafort. See Trial Tr. at 1352-54.

time of his application, the Union Street property was encumbered by a \$5.3 million dollar loan from Genesis Capital. Manafort failed to disclose this mortgage to Citizens Bank at the time of the Count 28 conspiracy, nor previously as part of the \$3.4 million Citizens Howard Street loan application (charged in Counts 24 and 25). Taryn Rodriguez from Citizens Bank testified to this fact, noting that she later found the loan on her own. At trial, Manafort never disputed the existence of the Genesis Capital loan and in fact agreed to the underlying details in Government Exhibit 500, a stipulation between the parties relating to the Genesis Capital loan on Union Street property.

III. Standards Governing Sentencing

The Fourth Circuit has held that a sentencing court must: "(1) properly calculate the [Sentencing] Guidelines range; (2) allow the parties to argue for the sentence they deem appropriate and determine whether the § 3553(a) factors support the sentence[s] requested by the parties; and (3) explain its reasons for selecting a sentence." <u>United States v. Simmons</u>, 269 Fed. Appx. 272, 273 (4th Cir. 2008) (citing <u>United States v. Pauley</u>, 511 F.3d 468, 473 (4th Cir. 2007)). Although the Sentencing Guidelines are advisory, <u>United States v. Booker</u>, 543 U.S. 220, 246 (2005), "district courts must begin their analysis with the Guidelines and remain cognizant of them throughout the sentencing process." <u>Gall v. United States</u>, 552 U.S. 38, 50 n. 6 (2007); <u>see Rosales-Mireles v. United States</u>, 138 S. Ct. 1897, 1904 (2018) ("[E]ven in an advisory capacity the Guidelines serve as 'a meaningful benchmark' in the initial determination of a sentence and 'through the process of appellate review.") (citation omitted).

¹⁶ See Trial Tr. at 1911-1917.

IV. The Advisory Guidelines Range

The government agrees with the Probation Department's guidelines calculations in the PSR and addresses that analysis below together with the defendant's challenges. <u>See</u> Defense Objections to the PSR (dated January 21, 2019).

A. Tax and FBAR Guidelines (Group 1)

1. Section 2S1.3 is the Relevant Guideline Provision

As noted in the PSR, the base offense level for the Group 1 tax and FBAR counts is level 6, pursuant to § 2S1.3(b)(2), with 22 levels added based on the value of the funds held—here, more than \$55 million, pursuant to § 2B1.1(b)(1)(L). See PSR ¶¶ 73-74.¹⁷

The defendant argues that the tax guidelines, and not § 2S1.3, is the appropriate starting point for the Group 1 FBAR and tax offenses, citing <u>United States v. Kim</u>, 1:17-cr-00248 (TSE/LMB) (E.D. Va. 2018). <u>See</u> Defense Objections to the PSR, at 1-2. As detailed in the PSR Addendum, the defendant's arguments lack merit. <u>See</u> PSR Addendum, 52-53.

First, the Guidelines explicitly distinguish between the various reporting crimes at issue here (covered by § 2S1.3) and tax offenses (covered by Part T). For example, the commentary to § 2S1.3, under the title "Statutory Provisions," explicitly lists 31 U.S.C. § 5313—the statute of which Manafort was convicted in Count 12. Further, § 2S1.3(c)(1) addresses a reporting violation committed for the purposes of evading taxes, and specifically calls for use of the tax guidelines only if the resulting offense level is greater than the one determined under § 2S1.3.¹⁸

¹⁷The base offense level is 6 pursuant to § 2S1.3(b)(2) because the offense at issue is not enumerated in § 2S1.3(b)(1).

¹⁸Section 2S1.3(c)(1), entitled "Cross Reference," reading as follows: "If the offense was committed for the purposes of violating the Internal Revenue laws, apply the most appropriate guideline from Chapter

That criterion is not satisfied here: "the resulting offense level" under Chapter 2T of the guidelines is less than the Chapter 2S calculation. See United States v. Hill, 171 Fed. Appx. 815, 821-22 (11th Cir. 2006) ("§ 2S1.3(c)(1) was not applicable because the offense level of 16 that would have resulted from the court's application of U.S.S.G. § 2T1.1(a)(1), would have been less than 17—the offense level that resulted from the court's application of § 2S1.3(a) & (b)(1)") (footnote omitted).

Moreover, Manafort's FBAR offense was not committed solely for allowing him to violate the tax laws. Rather, his use of and access to unreported overseas accounts also facilitated the money laundering and unregistered-foreign-agent (FARA) schemes to which he pled guilty in Count One of a superseding information in the District of Columbia. Accordingly, the tax guidelines are not appropriate here, both because the tax guidelines are not higher, as required by § 2S1.3(c)(1), and because the gravamen of the crime here was not solely tax avoidance.

As part of his plea in the District of Columbia, Manafort pleaded guilty to a conspiracy to transfer funds from outside the United States to the United States with the intent to promote the felony FARA violations.²⁰ Manafort's scheme involved more than \$6.5 million dollars in transfers from the very overseas accounts that Manafort failed to report on his tax returns and under the FBAR process.²¹

Two, Part T (Offenses Involving Taxation) if the resulting offense level is greater than that determined above."

¹⁹See D.C. Plea Agreement; D.C. Statement of the Offense ¶ 36-37.

²⁰Id.

²¹Notably, in his objections to the PSR, the defendant falsely characterized his guilty plea in the District of Columbia as involving only a "general conspiracy to violate the Foreign Agents Registration Act,"

Finally, Manafort argues that the Part T guidelines are appropriate because they were used in older cases, such as <u>United States v. Kim</u>, <u>supra</u>, and thus should continue to be used to avoid unwarranted sentencing disparities for similar defendants. The government disagrees for two reasons. First, in late 2017, the Department of Justice's Tax Division clarified its interpretation as to the appropriate guidelines applicable to FBAR violations, and its current position is consistent with that of the Probation Office in this matter; and second, the facts at issue here differ from those of the Kim prosecution.

The Tax Division changed its position on the appropriate guideline provision in FBAR cases sometime in late 2017. Manafort was aware of the government's position prior to this trial, at the very least because the Special Counsel's Office made clear its view that the relevant guideline is § 2S1.3. Further, in Kim itself, the Tax Division and Probation Office took the position that the appropriate guideline was § 2S1.3. See Kim Plea Agreement, at 3-4 (attached as Government Exhibit E) ("The Government contends that the applicable Guideline in this matter should be U.S.S.G § 2S1.3(a)(2), § 2B1.1 and § 2S1.3(b)(2) because the defendant filed two false FBARs and a false U.S. Individual Income Tax Return, Form 1020, within a 12-month period. However, at the time that the defendant agreed to plead guilty, the Government consistently took the position with similarly situated defendants that the applicable Guideline was U.S.S.G. § 2T1.1 and § 2T1.4 due to the cross reference in § 2S1.3(c)(1). Therefore, in order to ensure that the defendant receives equitable treatment, and in accordance with Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 11(c)(1)(B), the United States and the defendant will recommend to

Def. Obj. to PSR, at 3, without any mention to the fact that his plea also included a money laundering conspiracy, among other offenses. See D.C. Plea Agreement; D.C. Statement of the Offense ¶ 36-37.

the Court that the following provisions of the Sentencing Guidelines apply: [the Tax Guidelines]."); Government Sentencing Brief, at 6 (attached as Government Exhibit F) ("The defendant pled guilty to the willful failure to file an FBAR, in violation of 31 U.S.C. Sections 5314 and 5322. The offense of conviction in this case falls under U.S.S.G. § 2S1.3. The Probation Office calculated the Guidelines range under U.S.S.G. § 2S1.3(a)(2)").

Further, as noted, the circumstances of the <u>Kim</u> and Manafort prosecutions and the conduct at issue are easily distinguished. In <u>Kim</u>, the defendant entered into a negotiated plea agreement which involved his cooperation, and the plea was entered into pursuant to Rule 11(c)(1)(B). Manafort's FBAR offenses, in contrast, served to facilitate his tax offenses and his FARA and money laundering offenses. Further, the <u>Kim</u> prosecution was part of a series of prosecutions involving the use of overseas accounts to hide tax offenses, and thus the concern over parity with similarly situated defendants prosecuted at the same time was at its height. Calculating Manafort's advisory Guidelines range under § 2S1.3 for an FBAR offense, even if he is one of the first defendants to be sentenced in that manner, would not constitute disparate treatment because his conduct, and the circumstances at issue, were different than in <u>Kim</u>.

2. A Role Enhancement is Appropriate

The PSR concluded that Manafort should receive a four-level role enhancement for the Group 1 offenses, pursuant § 3B1.1(a), on the basis that "the defendant was an organizer or leader of a criminal activity that was otherwise extensive." PSR, ¶ 78. The relevant test is the number of persons involved in the offenses, whether they were witting or unwitting. See United States v. Harvey, 532 F.3d 326, 338 (4th Cir. 2008) ("The Application Note to U.S.S.G. § 3B1.1 explains that, in determining if a criminal activity is 'otherwise extensive,' all persons involved

during the course of the entire offense are to be considered, including outsiders who provided unwitting services and thus do not qualify as 'participants.'"); <u>United States v. Ellis</u>, 951 F.2d 580, 585 (4th Cir. 1991) (role enhancement based on "otherwise extensive" prong based on "all persons involved during the course of the entire offense,' even the 'unknowing services of many outsiders'").

Manafort's criminal conduct meets this standard. Manafort controlled the money at issue, he recruited others to facilitate these crimes, and he claimed a larger share of the proceeds. Further, Manafort was plainly the leader. He involved numerous individuals who were both knowing and unknowing participants in the criminal scheme. These included Gates and Konstantin Kilimnik, Manafort's tax preparers (Ayliff, LaPorta, Naji Lakkis, Dan Walters, and Conor O'Brien) and bookkeepers (Hesham Ali and Washkuhn), and others in Cyprus who were involved in originating and maintaining the defendant's overseas accounts. Under the factors set forth in the Guidelines application notes and applied by the Fourth Circuit, application of the leadership enhancement is warranted. See United States v. Jones, 495 F. App'x 371, 373 (4th Cir. 2012) ("In determining a defendant's leadership and organizational role, sentencing courts must consider seven factors: [T]he exercise of decision making authority, the nature of participation in the commission of the offense, the recruitment of accomplices, the claimed right to a larger share of the fruits of the crime, the degree of participation in planning or organizing the offense, the nature and scope of the illegal activity, and the degree of control and authority

²²The corporate entity and bank account documents relating to the overseas accounts listed a variety of individuals associated with Dr. Kypros Chrysostomides firm's, including Eleni Chrysostomides, Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris, Myrianthi Christou, Evelina Georgiades, and Georgoula Mavrides. <u>See e.g.</u>, Government Exhibit 63 (chart of foreign entities); Government Exhibit 73B (chart listing bank accounts).

exercised over others. U.S.S.G. § 3B1.1, cmt. n.4.").²³ Further, even to the extent that Gates profited from this scheme, including by stealing from Manafort, his profits from these crimes paled in comparison to Manafort's gain.

B. Bank Fraud Guidelines (Group 2)

1. The PSR Correctly Calculated the Fraud Loss

The Probation Department assessed the fraud loss to be approximately \$6 million for the counts of conviction for bank fraud together with the relevant conduct. See PSR, at ¶ 87.

Manafort contends that the assessed fraud loss is overstated because the Citizens Bank loan conspiracy relating to Union Street property charged in Count 28 never closed and, had it closed, Manafort speculates that he would have fully collateralized the loan, resulting in no loss. See Defense Objections to PSR, at 4. That argument ignores the trial evidence that the defendant did not intend the property he pledged as collateral to be used as such since he lied to the bank about the collateral, hiding the fact that the Union Street property had a mortgage. At trial, the government proved that the Union Street property Manafort now claims he would have pledged as part of the loan charged in Count 28 was encumbered by a \$5.3 million loan from Genesis

²³In arguing against the application of a role enhancement, Manafort relies principally on the Guidelines' use of the phrase "criminal organization" and contends that role enhancements in § 3B1.1 are meant to be applied only "to leaders or managers of organizations that have a primary purpose of engaging in crime, such as foreign cartels that smuggle narcotics into the United States, or motorcycle gangs that unlawfully transport and distribute firearms." Def. Obj. to PSR, at 5. Manafort cites no case law endorsing his "not-in-white-collar-cases" reading of § 3B1.1, which cannot be reconciled with Fourth Circuit decisions such as Ellis and Harvey, supra. The dog-track owner who bribed state legislators in Ellis, for example, may have done it for "the primary purpose of" helping his business, not "engaging in crime," see Def. Obj. to PSR, at 5, yet the Fourth Circuit affirmed application of the leadership enhancement to his scheme. Ellis, 951 F.2d at 585; accord Harvey, 532 F.3d at 338 (defendant sentenced for honest-services fraud involving bribery in awarding Army contracts was assessed a role enhancement). The defendant's argument, in short, lacks merit.

Capital at the time.²⁴ Previously, the defendant applied for a loan from Citizens Bank on the Howard Street property (Counts 24 & 25), and also failed to disclose the Genesis loan on the Union Street property, which was one of several misrepresentations charged in the indictment and proven at trial.²⁵

Because Manafort concealed the Genesis loan and intended to continue to do so, he is not entitled to credit based on the happenstance that the bank, through its own due diligence, eventually discovered the Genesis loan. See United States v. Staples, 410 F.3d 484, 490-91 (8th Cir. 2005) ("We do not mean that the value of the collateral necessarily must be deducted from the intended loss; the defendant's intent is the touchstone. For example, if a car were collateral in a fraudulent loan procurement case, and the defendant were to hide the car, then the court should not deduct the value of the collateral from the *intended loss* because under those circumstances the defendant intended the loss to encompass the value of the collateral.") (emphasis added).

2. The Sophisticated Means Enhancement Is Appropriate

The Probation Department assessed a two-level enhancement on the Group 2 offenses for the use of sophisticated means pursuant to USSG § 2B1.1(b)(10)(c). PSR ¶ 88. The defendant

²⁴<u>See</u> Government Exhibit 500 (Stipulation relating to Genesis Capital); Trial Tr, at 1911-17 (Taryn Rodriguez from Citizens Bank testified that Manafort did not list the mortgage from Genesis Capital for 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New York on his application for the Union Street loan and that she later identified the mortgage during a records check); Government Exhibit 255 (377 Union Street Uniform Residential Loan Application).

²⁵<u>See</u> Trial Tr. at 1743-44 (Melinda James (née Francis) from Citizens Bank testified that on Manafort's Howard Street loan application, it indicated that there was no mortgage on the property at 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New York); Government Exhibit 224 (email attaching schedule of Manafort's real estate owned and reflecting there is no mortgage on Union Street property); Trial Tr. at 1284-85 (Rick Gates testified that he understood that Manafort had a mortgage on the property at 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New York during the time of the loan application at Citizens Bank for the Howard Street property).

objects on the grounds that "there was nothing complex about simply lying to the banks," and that the falsified documents were "simple or ham-handed." See Defense Objections to PSR, at 4. Manafort is wrong; even if some of Manafort's conduct may have been ham-handed not all of it was.

The Guidelines affords an enhancement when "the offense otherwise involved sophisticated means and the defendant intentionally engaged in or caused the conduct constituting sophisticated means," U.S.S.G. § 2B1.1(b)(10)(c). Application Note 9 defines "sophisticated means" as:

especially complex or especially intricate offense conduct pertaining to the execution or concealment of an offense. For example, in a telemarketing scheme, locating the main office of the scheme in one jurisdiction but locating soliciting operations in another jurisdiction ordinarily indicates sophisticated means. Conduct such as hiding assets or transactions, or both, through the use of fictitious entities, corporate shells, or offshore financial accounts also ordinarily indicates sophisticated means.

Id. § 2B1.1 cmt. n. 9.

Here, the defendant's conduct qualifies for the enhancement, as he routinely hid relevant transactions, falsified documentation, and made misrepresentations relating to an offshore transaction (and the existence of those assets). For example, for the two Citizens Bank loans, Manafort hid the true nature of his foreign Peranova "loan". Manafort had first claimed the \$1.5 million from Peranova, an offshore entity that he controlled, as a "loan" on his tax returns (to avoid paying taxes on the money), and when the bank needed to see less debt and more income for 2015, Manafort claimed the loan was forgiven, created a back-dated letter purporting to document the forgiveness, and instructed his tax preparer to forward that letter to the bank.²⁶

²⁶See Trial Tr. at 944-69 (Testimony of Cindy LaPorta).

Further, for four of the five loans, Manafort materially misstated the Profit and Loss Statement from his business for the years 2015 and 2016, hiding his true income, requested those documents from his bookkeeper, altered them, and then submitted them to the bank.²⁷

With respect to the Citizens Bank loan charged in Count 24, Manafort hid the mortgage on the Union Street property, and went to great lengths to do so including having Gates contact the mortgage broker (Donna Duggan) and having her forward an older version of the mortgage binder for the property. On the Banc of California fraud charged in Counts 27 and 28, Manafort hid the Howard Street mortgage. For The Federal Savings Bank loans charged in Counts 29 through 32, Manafort hid outstanding American Express debt and delinquency, falsely claiming that debt to be a loan to Gates and sending a letter to that effect to the bank. See United States v. Davis, No. 18-4080, 2018 WL 5096070, at *1 (4th Cir. Oct. 18, 2018) (unpublished) (affirming application of the sophisticated means enhancement applies where the defendant created a "multilayered scheme" and "used numerous means to conceal the fraud, including forgery, altering documentation, transferring money between accounts, and omitting property from certain accountings").

²⁷See Trial Tr. at 601-30 (Testimony of Heather Washkuhn).

²⁸See Trial Tr. at 1284-86 (Gates testified that at Manafort's direction he contacted Manafort's insurance broker and requested an old copy of the insurance binder with respect to the Union Street property, which did not reflect the current mortgage, and that he was aware that the older version was then sent to the bank to hide the fact that there was currently a mortgage on the Union Street property).

3. A Role Enhancement is Appropriate For the Group 2 Crimes

The Group 2 criminal conduct involved multiple parties, individuals who were both knowing and unknowing with respect to the scheme, including co-conspirators Gates and Jeffrey Yohai, and more than a dozen bankers, accountants, and Manafort's bookkeepers and tax preparers.²⁹ Manafort, moreover, was the primary beneficiary of the frauds. Based on the criteria in the application note and the case law cited above, the role enhancement is equally appropriate for the Group 2 bank fraud offenses.

C. The Defendant Did Not Accept Responsibility

Finally, the PSR properly denied Manafort any reduction for acceptance of responsibility pursuant to § 3E1.1. PSR ¶ 96. Manafort proceeded to trial and vigorously denied his guilt. Although a trial alone does not necessarily preclude an acceptance reduction, it almost always does in circumstances like those here. Application Note 2 to § 3E1.1 suggests that the situations where a defendant proceeds to trial and qualifies for an acceptance reduction are rare, and are often limited to circumstances where the defendant proceeds to trial to challenge the constitutionality of a statute, or some other legal issue, and not the facts. See § 3E1.1, Application Note 2. That was not the case here. See e.g., United States v. Redding, 422 F. App'x 192, 195 (4th Cir. 2011) (unpublished) ("Because Redding put the government to its burden of proof and went to trial challenging his factual guilt, the district court was correct in finding the two-level reduction was inappropriate."). Manafort cites no authority for the

²⁹For example, from Citizens Bank at least the following individuals were involved: David Fallarino, Melinda James (née Francis), Taryn Rodriguez, and Peggy Miceli; from the Banc of California, Perris Kaufman and Gary Seferian; and from The Federal Savings Bank: Anna Ivakhnik, Dennis Raico, Thomas Horn, James Brennan, and Steve Calk; from Nigro Karlin (the bookkeeper): Heather Washkuhn; and from KWC: Cindy LaPorta and Philip Ayliff.

proposition that a later plea in another prosecution—even one involving some of the same facts—negates the fact that he put the government to its proof in the Eastern District of Virginia.

Further, the defendant has now conceded that he breached his plea agreement in the District of Columbia, and on February 13, 2019, in a ruling from the bench, Judge Jackson found by a preponderance of the evidence that Manafort intentionally lied to the government as to three subject areas, and had not with respect to two others. The DC Court also issued an order documenting those findings. <u>United States v. Manafort</u>, 1:17-cr-201 (ABJ) (D.D.C. February 13, 2019), Doc 509 (attached as Exhibit G).

Finally, the defendant's failure to file the required financial information with the Probation Department, in either district, is further evidence of his failure to accept responsibility, particularly here, where the defendant was convicted of financial crimes, including his income and assets.

V. Statutory Sentencing Factors Pursuant To Title 18, United States Code, Section 3553(a)

The government addresses the Section 3553(a) factors below.

A. The Nature and Circumstances of the Offense

Manafort's criminal conduct was serious, longstanding, and bold. He failed to pay taxes in five successive years involving more than \$16 million in unreported income—and failed to identify his overseas accounts in those same returns—resulting in more than \$6 million in unpaid taxes. In four successive years from 2011 to 2014, Manafort failed to report his overseas accounts to the Treasury Department, and over that period he maintained 31 accounts in three

foreign countries collectively holding more than \$55 million in multiple currencies.³⁰ As for his bank fraud offenses, Manafort defrauded not one financial institution but three, and sought five loans from those banks, seeking more than \$25 million.

Tax fraud is a serious crime and violates the most basic covenant between citizens and the government. See United States v. Zukerman, 897 F.3d 423, 428 (2d Cir. 2018) ("[t]ax crimes represent an especially damaging category of criminal offense" which "strike[] at the foundation of a functioning government") (citation omitted), pet. for cert. filed, No. 18-642 (Nov. 19, 2018). The defendant benefited from the protections and privileges of the law and the services of his government, while cheating it and his fellow citizens. See United State v. Trupin, 475 F.3d 71, 76 (2d Cir. 2007) (tax evader effectively "[steals] from his fellow taxpayers through his deceptions.").

The defendant's failure to file foreign bank account reports is also significant. FBAR regulations facilitate the identification of "persons who may be using foreign financial accounts to circumvent United States law," whether those funds are used for "illicit purposes or to identify income maintained or generated abroad." See IRS FBAR Reference Guide, at 2

(https://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-utl/irsfbarreferenceguide.pdf). Here, Manafort's FBAR offenses were more serious than that of a defendant who simply hides his income, like the defendant in Kim. Manafort used his foreign accounts not only to hide his income, but to launder funds, including by engaging in transactions that promoted his FARA scheme.

³⁰See Government Exhibit 73B (FBAR Chart for 2011), Government Exhibit 73C (FBAR Chart for 2012), Government Exhibit 73D (FBAR Chart for 2013), Government Exhibit 73E (FBAR Chart for 2014); Government Exhibit 74 ("Deposit Analysis – Foreign Source of Funds Received by Foreign Accounts," listing total as \$65,860,502.50).

Finally, the defendant's bank fraud offenses are also serious, both for the number and amount of the loans and the conduct involved. Bank fraud undermines the stability of our financial system and the federally insured financial institutions that citizens rely upon that those statutes seek to protect. See United States v. Koh, 199 F.3d 632, 638 (2d Cir. 1999) (recognizing that Congress, in part through passage of the bank fraud statute, "clearly intended to protect 'the financial integrity' of institutions in which it had a strong federal interest, including those that are 'federally created, controlled or insured'") (quoting S. Rep. No. 98–225, at 377 (1983)).

Manafort sought five loans totaling more than \$25 million and secured funding in the amount of more than \$19 million. Those facts set him far afield from the ordinary bank fraud defendant.

As noted, these were not short-lived schemes. Manafort's crimes were the product of his planning and premeditation over many years, and a result of his direct and willful conduct. Manafort's tax crimes by any account were serious, and more serious than most given the amount of money at issue and the fact that his failure to pay the taxes owed was not caused by any necessity but simple greed. Manafort had ample funds to cover these tax payments. He simply chose not to comply with laws that would reduce his wealth. And along the way, each year, in order to successfully implement the tax scheme the defendant involved numerous other people, including both witting and unwitting participants. In every scheme, Manafort was always the principal, and almost always the exclusive beneficiary.

B. <u>History and Characteristics of the Defendant</u>

Manafort's history and characteristics are aggravating factors. Manafort has had every opportunity to succeed. He is well educated and a member of the legal profession, attending

Georgetown University for college and law school. He was a successful political consultant both in the United States and abroad.³¹

Further, while the defendant is 69 years old and has suffered reputational harm as a result of his conviction, neither is a mitigating factor. Part H of Chapter 5 of the Sentencing Guidelines addresses age, and in effect provides that age can be considered "individually or in combination with other offender characteristics," when "present to an unusual degree and distinguish the case from the typical cases covered by the guidelines." U.S.S.G. § 5H1.1.

Nothing about the defendant's age is unusual. Tax offenders are often older and often, like the defendant, wealthy, but they nonetheless receive substantial terms of incarceration notwithstanding age and health issues. See, e.g., United States v. Dibbi, 413 Fed. Appx 618, 620 (4th Cir. 2011) (affirming sentence of 30 months for tax fraud and decision not to grant a downward variance based on the defendant's health and age); United States v. Gilmartin, 12-cr-287 (MGC) (SDNY) (defendant, age 70, sentenced to 48 months imprisonment for evading taxes and failing to file federal and state tax returns for over 20 years, where the tax loss was approximately \$1.7 million). 32

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³¹See Trial Tr. at 2436 (defense closing argument citing witness testimony of Tad Devine and Dan Rabin describing Manafort as a talented political consultant and citing documents detailing Manafort's work for the presidential campaigns of Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, Bob Dole, and Donald Trump); see Trial Tr. at 1133-34 (Rick Gates testified that Manafort was "probably one of the most, you know, politically brilliant strategists I've ever worked with.").

³²See also United States v. Jackson, 10-cr-298 (CM) (SDNY) (defendant, age 57, sentenced to 63 months imprisonment for his work as a tax preparer who used a variety of deceptive practices—including claiming deceased children as dependents—as part of a scheme to prepare false tax returns and where the tax loss was approximately \$1 million); United States v. Catlett, 10-CR-101 (D. Md) (defendant, age 64, sentenced to 210 months imprisonment, related to filing 275 fraudulent tax returns reporting over \$22 million in false Schedule E losses, resulting in a federal tax loss of \$3.8 million).

Manafort's age does not eliminate the risk of recidivism he poses—particularly given that his pattern of criminal activity has occurred over more than a decade and that the most recent crimes he pled guilty to occurred from February to April 2018, when he conspired to tamper with witnesses at a time when he was under indictment in two separate districts. Further as Judge Jackson found, Manafort's misconduct continued as recently as October 2018 when he repeatedly and intentionally lied to the government during proffer sessions and the grand jury.

Courts also have rejected the premise that the reputational harm incident to every criminal conviction is a valid basis for reducing the term of imprisonment imposed on a white-collar offender such as Manafort. Nothing about that harm, or the collateral consequences that Manafort faces, was unforeseeable at the time that he chose to engage in the charged conduct. Manafort chose to commit multiple bank frauds, even when the subject of national attention in 2016. See, e.g., United States v. Prosperi, 686 F.3d 32, 47 (1st Cir. 2012) ("It is impermissible for a court to impose a lighter sentence on a white-collar defendant than on blue-collar defendants because it reasons that white-collar defendants suffer greater reputational harm or have more to lose by conviction.").

C. The Need to Promote Respect for the Law and to Afford Adequate Deterrence to Criminal Conduct

The sentence should serve to promote respect for the law and to afford both adequate specific and general deterrence as intended by Congress. With respect to general deterrence, the sentence should send a clear message that repeated choices to commit serious economic crimes have serious consequences, particularly in a matter that received national attention.

The Fourth Circuit has stressed the heightened importance of general deterrence in tax cases, and in particular the need for incarceration, given the prevalence of tax offenses and the

comparatively few prosecutions. See United States v. Engle, 592 F.3d 495, 502 (4th Cir. 2010) ("Given the nature and number of tax evasion offenses as compared to the relatively infrequent prosecution of those offenses, we believe that the [Sentencing] Commission's focus on incarceration as a means of third-party deterrence is wise. The vast majority of such crimes go unpunished, if not undetected. Without a real possibility of imprisonment, there would be little incentive for a wavering would-be evader to choose the straight-and-narrow over the wayward path."). Courts have recognized that tax prosecutions are difficult and time consuming to investigate and prosecute, and require substantial resources. See Zukerman, 897 F.3d at 429 (general deterrence has an important role in tax cases "due to the significant resources required to monitor and prosecute tax cases," which cost the government hundreds of billions of dollars annually) (internal quotation marks omitted); see also U.S.S.G Ch. 2, Part T, intro. cmt. (explaining that, in light of "the limited number of criminal tax prosecutions relative to the estimated incidence of such violations, deterring others from violating the tax laws is a primary consideration underlying these guidelines," and that "[r]ecognition that the sentence for a criminal tax case will be commensurate with the gravity of the offense should act as a deterrent to would-be violators").

Tax evasion through the use of offshore entities and bank accounts is among the most lucrative offenses and often the most difficult to investigate, which increases the need for strong deterrence and a meaningful sentence. See United States v. Hefferman, 43 F.3d 1144, 1149 (7th Cir. 1994) ("Considerations of (general) deterrence argue for punishing more heavily those offenses that either are lucrative or are difficult to detect and punish, since both attributes go to increase the expected benefits of a crime and hence the punishment required to deter it."). Bank

fraud, while more common, is equally serious and the need for deterrence is also strong in light of the need to protect the integrity of the nation's banking system.

D. The Need to Avoid Unwarranted Sentencing Disparities

Section 3553(a) also requires a sentence that is generally consistent with others imposed on similar offenders for similar offenses; courts are instructed "to avoid unwarranted sentence disparities among defendants with similar records who have been found guilty of similar conduct." 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a)(6). First, in this case, there are no similarly situated charged defendants, as Manafort's co-defendant, Gates, was subservient to Manafort, and he accepted responsibility, pled guilty, and cooperated early in this investigation. The crimes at issue involved Manafort's taxes and overseas accounts, not Gates'. With respect to the bank loans, Manafort, not Gates, principally received the proceeds. Second, given the breadth of Manafort's criminal activity, the government has not located a comparable case with the unique array of crimes and aggravating factors.

VI. Conclusion

For a decade, Manafort repeatedly violated the law. Considering only the crimes charged in this district, they make plain that Manafort chose to engage in a sophisticated scheme to hide millions of dollars from United States authorities. And when his foreign income stream dissipated in 2015, he chose to engage in a series of bank frauds in the United States to maintain his extravagant lifestyle, at the expense of various financial institutions. Manafort chose to do this for no other reason than greed, evidencing his belief that the law does not apply to him. Manafort solicited numerous professionals and others to reap his ill-gotten gains. The sentence

in this case must take into account the gravity of this conduct, and serve to both specifically deter Manafort and those who would commit a similar series of crimes.

Dated: February 15, 2018

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EXHIBIT A

CaseCase-cr10006690729E-ABdculorentr64At525illedF012/015/2/23/123geF2age2/53ageF2age12466884 VENDOR AND PROPERTY PAYMENTS FROM FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS

Vendor Name	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
SP&C Home Improvement Inc.	\$ 626,760	\$ 716,200	\$ 1,015,960	\$ 1,099,000	\$ 90,953	\$ 3,548,873
Big Picture Solutions, Inc.		\$ 102,006	\$ 456,800	\$ 939,475	\$ 162,920	\$ 1,661,201
Alan Couture	\$ 103,000	\$ 191,800	\$ 137,850	\$ 230,700	\$ 85,115	\$ 748,465
Scott L. Wilson Landscape & Tree Specialists, Inc.	\$ 237,700	\$ 265,800				\$ 503,500
Aegis Holdings LLC				\$ 500,000		\$ 500,000
J&J Oriental Rug Gallery	\$ 390,000		\$ 100,000			\$ 490,000
Sabatello Construction of Florida, Inc.		\$ 39,237	\$ 362,950	\$ 30,300		\$ 432,487
House of Bijan	\$ 213,280	\$ 112,000	\$ 7,500			\$ 332,780
New Leaf Landscape Maintenance LLC		\$ 4,115	\$ 134,600	\$ 26,025	\$ 90,945	\$ 255,685
Don Beyer Motors, Inc. aka Land Rover of Alexandria			\$ 163,705			\$ 163,705
Federal Stone and Brick LLC			\$ 87,000	\$ 38,650		\$ 125,650
American Service Center Associates of Alexandria, LLC aka Mercedes-Benz of Alexandria			\$ 62,750			\$ 62,750
Sensoryphile, Inc.	\$ 46,450					\$ 46,450
Total	\$ 1,617,190	\$ 1,431,158	\$ 2,529,115	\$ 2,864,150	\$ 429,933	\$ 8,871,546
Develope of Developed	2010	2011	2012	2012	2014	Total
Purchase of Property	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
Howard Street Condominium			\$ 1,500,000			

Purchase of Property	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
Howard Street Condominium			\$ 1,500,000			
Arlington House			\$ 1,900,000			
Union Street Brownstone			\$ 3,299,500			
Total	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 6,699,500	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 6,699,500

Grand Total	\$	1,617,190	\$	1,431,158	\$	9,228,615	\$	2,864,150	\$	429,933	\$	15,571,046
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EXHIBIT B

Paul Manafort Summary of Personal Tax Return Items and Unreported Income Tax Years 2010 to 2014

Tax Year	Approx. Filing Date	Foreign Account Total Income Reported Reported (Sch. B, Line 7a) (Line 22)		Total Unreported		
2010	October 14, 2011	None	\$504,744	\$1,617,190		
2011	October 15, 2012	None	\$3,071,409	\$1,431,158		
2012	October 7, 2013	None	\$5,361,007	\$9,228,615		
2013	October 6, 2014	None	\$1,910,928	\$2,864,150		
2014	October 14, 2015	None	\$2,984,210	\$1,329,933		

EXHIBIT C

Case Casect: 00008:30020EL-ABACumbenturitetr3525iled 601ett5029237tege 12:20fel.35720fe21206 6888 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE OF FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS IN 2011

Item	Account Name, Financial Institution and Account Number	Maximus Account Va		Authorized Signers Listed on Bank Account Application
1	Black Sea View Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 1,025,10	00.00 Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
2	Black Sea View Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$ 1	33.81 Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
3	Global Highway Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 684,50	58.70 Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
4	Leviathan Advisors Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 124,5	16.30 Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
5	Leviathan Advisors Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$ 1,582,79	90.00 Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
6	LOAV Advisors Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 20,34	Richard Gates Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1.18-cr-83 (T.S.E.)
73B

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Case Casect: 00008:30020E1-ABoltumentifite h3525iled F1/ett5029237tege Barget. 3578argfet206 6889 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE OF FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS IN 2011

			Beneficial Owner	Authorized Signers
	Account Name, Financial Institution	Maximum	Listed on Bank Account	Listed on Bank Account
Item	and Account Number	Account Value	Application	Application
7	Peranova Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 4,436,680.04	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
8	Peranova Holdings Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$ 23.84	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
9	Serangon Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 2,831.57	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
10	Yiakora Ventures Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 504,807.56	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
	AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE:	\$ 8,381,798.75		

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Case Casect: 00008:30020E1-ABJU undentifited 352514ed 60141500292374ege Parget 3599argie2046 6890 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE OF FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS IN 2012

			Beneficial Owner	Authorized Signers
	Account Name, Financial Institution	Maximum	Listed on Bank Account	Listed on Bank Account
Item	and Account Number	Account Value	Application	Application
1	Actinet Trading Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 999,987.00	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Paul Manafort Richard Gates
				Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
2	Actinet Trading Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$ 3,416,880.00	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Paul Manafort Richard Gates Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
3	Black Sea View Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 2,519,316.94	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
4	Black Sea View Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$ 1,927,720.00	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou



Case Casect: 00008330020E1-ABolcumento616443525iled 6016150029237169e 15agfe1.3672agfe2106 6891 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE OF FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS IN 2012

				Beneficial Owner	Authorized Signers
	Account Name, Financial Institution		Maximum	Listed on Bank Account	Listed on Bank Account
Item	and Account Number	A	ccount Value	Application	Application
5	Bletilla Ventures Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$	5,000,000.00	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
6	Bletilla Ventures Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$	1,849,860.00	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
7	Global Highway Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$	531,852.76	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
8	Leviathan Advisors Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$	738.45	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
9	Leviathan Advisors Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$		Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
10	LOAV Advisors Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$	5,679.02	Richard Gates Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Case Casect: 00008330020E1-ABolcumento616443525314ed 6016150129237269e 18cayfe1.3672cayfe21206 6892 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE OF FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS IN 2012

				Beneficial Owner	Authorized Signers
	Account Name, Financial Institution		Maximum	Listed on Bank Account	Listed on Bank Account
Item	and Account Number	A	ccount Value	Application	Application
11	Lucicle Consultants Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$	1,530,903.16	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Paul Manafort Richard Gates
					Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
12	Lucicle Consultants Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$	4,183,590.00	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Paul Manafort Richard Gates
					Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
13	Olivenia Trading Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$	3.28	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
14	Olivenia Trading Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$	740,362.98	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Case Casect: 00008330020EL-ABolcumento616443525iled 6016tb0029237269e Frangel.3672angfe21206 6893 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE OF FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS IN 2012

Account Name, Financial Institution and Account Number			Beneficial Owner Listed on Bank Account Application	Authorized Signers Listed on Bank Account Application
Peranova Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 2,	926,680.04	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
Peranova Holdings Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$	13.08	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/15/08)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
Serangon Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$	2,379.44	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
Yiakora Ventures Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$	2,650.27	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou
	and Account Number Peranova Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus Peranova Holdings Limited* Bank of Cyprus Serangon Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus Yiakora Ventures Limited	and Account Number Peranova Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus Peranova Holdings Limited* Bank of Cyprus Serangon Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus Yiakora Ventures Limited \$	Account Value Peranova Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus Peranova Holdings Limited* Bank of Cyprus Serangon Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus Serangon Holdings Limited Sank of Cyprus	Account Name, Financial Institution and Account Number Peranova Holdings Limited Bank of Cyprus Peranova Holdings Limited* Bank of Cyprus Peranova Holdings Limited* Bank of Cyprus Serangon Holdings Limited Serangon Holdings Limited Serangon Holdings Limited Peranova Holdings Limited Serangon Holdings Limited Peranova Holdings Limited Serangon Holdings Limited Peranova Holdings Limited Peranova Holdings Limited Serangon Holdings Limited Peranova Holdings Limited Peranova Holdings Limited Peranova Holdings Limited Serangon Holdings Limited Peranova Holdings Limited

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Case Casect: 00008:30020E1-ABoltumentifite h3525iled Frietboze 23726ge Bargel. 3673agjel206 6894 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE OF FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS IN 2013

			Beneficial Owner	Authorized Signers
	Account Name, Financial Institution		Listed on Bank Account	Listed on Bank Account
Item	and Account Number	Account Value	Application	Application
1	Actinet Trading Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 87,728.03	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Paul Manafort Richard Gates
				Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
2	Actinet Trading Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$ 196,511.00	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Paul Manafort Richard Gates
				Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
3	Actinet Trading Limited	\$ 87,458.48	Richard Gates	Eleni Chrysostomides
	Hellenic Bank		Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
4	Actinet Trading Limited* Hellenic Bank	\$ 202,277.00	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:18-cr-83 (T.S.E.)
73D

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro and GBP to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Case Casect: 00008:30020E1-ABoltumentifite h3525iled F1/ett50029237tege 19agfe1.3674agfe21046 6895 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE OF FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS IN 2013

Item	Account Name, Financial Institution and Account Number	Maximum Account Value	Beneficial Owner Listed on Bank Account Application	Authorized Signers Listed on Bank Account Application
5	Bletilla Ventures Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 1,568,530.54	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
6	Bletilla Ventures Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$ 276,703.00	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
7	Bletilla Ventures Limited Hellenic Bank	\$ 833,349.39	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
8	Bletilla Ventures Limited* Hellenic Bank	\$ 278,614.00	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
9	LOAV Advisors Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 5,292.42	Richard Gates Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro and GBP to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Item	Account Name, Financial Institution and Account Number	Acco	aximum ount Value	Beneficial Owner Listed on Bank Account Application	Authorized Signers Listed on Bank Account Application
10	Bank of Cyprus	\$	167,664.80	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Paul Manafort Richard Gates Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
11	Lucicle Consultants Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$	288,410.00	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Paul Manafort Richard Gates Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
12	Lucicle Consultants Limited Hellenic Bank	\$	603,131.79	Richard Gates	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
13	Lucicle Consultants Limited* Hellenic Bank	\$	1,427,810.00	Richard Gates	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro and GBP to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Item	Account Name, Financial Institution and Account Number	Maximum Account Value	Beneficial Owner Listed on Bank Account Application	Authorized Signers Listed on Bank Account Application
14	Marziola Holdings Limited Hellenic Bank		Konstantin Kilimnik	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
15	Olivenia Trading Limited* Bank of Cyprus	\$ 0.64	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
16	Olivenia Trading Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 601,794.98	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
17	Olivenia Trading Limited Hellenic Bank	\$ 601,079.22	Richard Gates Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Myrianthi Christou Evelina Georgiades Georgoula Mavrides
18	Yiakora Ventures Limited Bank of Cyprus	\$ 11,943.28	Paul Manafort Konstantin Kilimnik (As of 1/21/13)	Eleni Chrysostomides Chrystalla Pitsilli Dekatris Georgoula Mavrides Myrianthi Christou

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro and GBP to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

Item	Account Name, Financial Institution and Account Number	Maximum count Value	Beneficial Owner Listed on Bank Account Application	Authorized Signers Listed on Bank Account Application
	Pompolo Limited* HSBC UK	\$ 1,838,260.00		Richard Gates
20	Global Endeavour Inc. Loyal Bank Ltd.	\$ 2,999,950.00	Konstantin Kilimnik	Myrianthi Christou Chrystalla Dekatris Eleni Chrysostomides Georgoula Mavrides Evelina Georgiades
21	Global Endeavour Inc.* Loyal Bank Ltd.	\$ 2,036,960.00	Konstantin Kilimnik	Myrianthi Christou Chrystalla Dekatris Eleni Chrysostomides Georgoula Mavrides Evelina Georgiades
22	Jeunet Ltd.* Loyal Bank Ltd	\$ 2,675,340.00	Konstantin Kilimnik	Myrianthi Christou Chrystalla Dekatris Eleni Chrysostomides Georgoula Mavrides Evelina Georgiades
	AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE:	\$ 18,788,808.57		•

^{*}The maximum account value was converted from Euro and GBP to USD on the date of occurrence per the bank statement using the website https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/.

			Beneficial Owner	Authorized Signers
	Account Name, Financial Institution	Maximum	Listed on Bank Account	Listed on Bank Account
Item	and Account Number	Account Value	Application	Application
1	Global Endeavour Inc. Loyal Bank Ltd.	\$ 259,797.56	Konstantin Kilimnik	Myrianthi Christou Chrystalla Dekatris Eleni Chrysostomides Georgoula Mavrides Evelina Georgiades
2	Global Endeavour Inc.* Loyal Bank Ltd.	\$ 1,622,660.00	Konstantin Kilimnik	Myrianthi Christou Chrystalla Dekatris Eleni Chrysostomides Georgoula Mavrides Evelina Georgiades
3	Jeunet Ltd.* Loyal Bank Ltd.	\$ 860,846.00	Konstantin Kilimnik	Myrianthi Christou Chrystalla Dekatris Eleni Chrysostomides Georgoula Mavrides Evelina Georgiades
	AGGREGATE MAXIMUM VALUE:	\$ 2,743,303.56		



EXHIBIT D



U.S. Department of Justice The Special Counsel's Office

Washington, D.C. 20530 September 13, 2018

Kevin M. Downing, Esq. Law Office of Kevin M. Downing 601 New Jersey Avenue NW Suite 620 Washington, DC 20001

FILED
SEP 14 2018

Clerk, U.S. District & Bankruptcy Courts for the District of Columbia

Thomas E. Zehnle, Esq. Law Office of Thomas E. Zehnle 601 New Jersey Avenue NW Suite 620 Washington, DC 20001

Richard W. Westling, Esq Epstein Becker Green 1227 25th Street NW Suite 700 Washington, DC 20037

Re: United States v. Paul J. Manafort, Jr., Crim. No. 17-201- (ABJ)

Dear Counsel:

This letter sets forth the full and complete plea offer to your client Paul J. Manafort, Jr. (hereinafter referred to as "your client" or "defendant") from the Special Counsel's Office (hereinafter also referred to as "the Government" or "this Office"). If your client accepts the terms and conditions of this offer, please have your client execute this document in the space provided below. Upon receipt of the executed document, this letter will become the Plea Agreement (hereinafter referred to as the "Agreement"). The terms of the offer are as follows.

1. Charges and Statutory Penalties

Your client agrees to plead guilty in the above-captioned case to all elements of all objects of all the charges in a Superseding Criminal Information, which will encompass the charges in Counts One and Two of a Superseding Criminal Information, charging your client with:

A. conspiracy against the United States, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371 (which includes a conspiracy to: (a) money launder (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1956); (b) commit tax fraud



(in violation of 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1)); (c) fail to file Foreign Bank Account Reports (in violation of 31 U.S.C. §§ 5314 and 5322(b)); (d) violate the Foreign Agents Registration Act (in violation of 22 U.S.C. §§ 612, 618(a)(1), and 618(a)(2)); and (e) to lie to the Department of Justice (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a) and 22 U.S.C. §§ 612 and 618(a)(2)); and

B. conspiracy against the United States, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371, to wit: conspiracy to obstruct justice by tampering with witnesses while on pre-trial release (in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1512).

The defendant also agrees not to appeal any trial or pre-trial issue in the Eastern District of Virginia, or to challenge in the district court any such issue, and admits in the attached "Statement of the Offense" his guilt of the remaining counts against him in <u>United States v. Paul J. Manafort, Jr.</u>, Crim. No. 1:18-cr-83 (TSE) (hereafter "Eastern District of Virginia.") A copy of the Superseding Criminal Information and Statement of the Offense are attached.

Your client understands that each violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371 carries a maximum sentence of 5 years' imprisonment; a fine of not more than \$250,000, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3571(b)(3); a term of supervised release of not more than 3 years, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3583(b)(2); and an obligation to pay any applicable interest or penalties on fines and restitution not timely made, and forfeiture.

In addition, your client agrees to pay a mandatory special assessment of \$200 to the Clerk of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. Your client also understands that, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3572 and § 5E1.2 of the United States Sentencing Guidelines, *Guidelines Manual* (2016) (hereinafter "Sentencing Guidelines," "Guidelines," or "U.S.S.G."), the Court may also impose a fine that is sufficient to pay the federal government the costs of any imprisonment, term of supervised release, and period of probation.

2. Factual Stipulations

Your client agrees that the attached Statement of the Offense fairly and accurately describes and summarizes your client's actions and involvement in the offenses to which your client is pleading guilty, as well as crimes charged in the Eastern District of Virginia that remain outstanding, as well as additional acts taken by him. Please have your client sign and return the Statement of the Offense, along with this Agreement.

3. Additional Charges

In consideration of your client's guilty plea to the above offenses, and upon the completion of full cooperation as described herein and fulfillment of all the other obligations herein, no additional criminal charges will be brought against the defendant for his heretofore disclosed participation in criminal activity, including money laundering, false statements, personal and corporate tax and FBAR offenses, bank fraud, Foreign Agents Registration Act violations for his work in Ukraine, and obstruction of justice. In addition, subject to the terms of this Agreement, at the time of sentence or at the completion of his successful cooperation, whichever is later, the Government will move to dismiss the remaining counts of the Indictment

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in this matter and in the Eastern District of Virginia and your client waives venue as to such charges in the event he breaches this Agreement. Your client also waives all rights under the Speedy Trial act as to any outstanding charges.

4. Sentencing Guidelines Analysis

Your client understands that the sentence in this case will be determined by the Court, pursuant to the factors set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), including a consideration of the applicable guidelines and policies set forth in the Sentencing Guidelines. Pursuant to Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 11(c)(1)(B), and to assist the Court in determining the appropriate sentence, the Office estimates the Guidelines as follows:

A. Estimated Offense Level Under the Guidelines

Base offense level	+8	2S1.1(a) Base Offense Level: (1) The offense level for the underlying offense from which the laundered funds were derived, if (A) the defendant committed the underlying offense (or would be accountable for the underlying offense under subsection (a)(1)(A) of §1B1.3 (Relevant Conduct)); and (B) the offense level for that offense can be determined; or (2) 8 plus the number of offense levels from the table in §2B1.1 (Theft, Property Destruction, and Fraud) corresponding to the value of the laundered funds, otherwise.
	+22	Using more than \$25 million threshold under 2B1.1
Enhancement	+2	2S1.1(b)(2)(B) permits enhancement for 2 points if the conviction is pursuant to §1956.
Enhancement	+2	2S1.1(b)(3) adds two points for sophisticated laundering (which the guidelines lists as involving shell corporations and offshore financial accounts.
Enhancement:	+4	3B1.1(a) aggravating role -5 or more participants or otherwise extensive
Enhancement:	+2	3C1.1 obstruction
Combined Offense level	+0	3D1.4
Acceptance:	-3	3E1.1(b) acceptance of responsibility
Total for Counts One and Two:	37	Advisory guidelines range of 210-262

The defendant agrees that all of the Sentencing Guidelines for money laundering applicable to charges brought under 18 U.S.C. § 1956 apply to Count One of the Superseding Criminal Information brought under 18 U.S.C. § 371.

For the purposes of the Sentencing Guidelines analysis, the government calculates the highest guideline range among the offenses, namely the object of the conspiracy to violate Title 18 U.S.C. § 1956. The defendant's estimated guideline range for Count Two, the conspiracy to obstruct justice, is 30 (before any reduction for acceptance of responsibility), and would be grouped with Count One pursuant to §3D1.2(c).

B. Acceptance of Responsibility

The Government agrees that a 2-level reduction will be appropriate, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 3E1.1, provided that your client clearly demonstrates acceptance of responsibility, to the satisfaction of the Government, through your client's allocution, adherence to every provision of this Agreement, and conduct between entry of the plea and imposition of sentence. If the defendant has accepted responsibility as described above, and if the defendant pleads guilty on or before September 14, 2018, subject to the availability of the Court, an additional one-level reduction will be warranted, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 3E1.1(b).

Nothing in this Agreement limits the right of the Government to seek denial of the adjustment for acceptance of responsibility, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 3E1.1, and/or imposition of an adjustment for obstruction of justice, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 3C1.1, regardless of any agreement set forth herein, should your client move to withdraw his guilty plea after it is entered, or should it be determined by the Government that your client has either (a) engaged in conduct, unknown to the Government at the time of the signing of this Agreement, that constitutes obstruction of justice, or (b) engaged in additional criminal conduct after signing this Agreement.

In accordance with the above, the applicable Guidelines Offense Level will be at least 37.

C. Estimated Criminal History Category

Based upon the information now available to this Office, your client has no criminal convictions, other than in the Eastern District of Virginia. Your client acknowledges that depending on when he is sentenced here and how the Guidelines are interpreted, he may have a criminal history. If additional convictions are discovered during the pre-sentence investigation by the United States Probation Office, your client's criminal history points may increase.

D. Estimated Applicable Guidelines Range

Based upon the total offense level and the estimated criminal history category set forth above, the Office calculates your client's estimated Sentencing Guidelines range is 210 months to 262 months' imprisonment (the "Estimated Guidelines Range"). In addition, the Office calculates that, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 5E1.2, should the Court impose a fine, at Guidelines level

37, the estimated applicable fine range is \$40,000 to \$400,000. Your client reserves the right to ask the Court not to impose any applicable fine.

Your client agrees that, solely for the purposes of calculating the applicable range under the Sentencing Guidelines, a downward departure from the Estimated Guidelines Range set forth above is not warranted, subject to the paragraphs regarding cooperation below. Accordingly, you will not seek any departure or adjustment to the Estimated Guidelines Range set forth above, nor suggest that the Court consider such a departure or adjustment for any other reason other than those specified above. Your client also reserves the right to disagree with the Estimated Guideline Range calculated by the Office with respect to role in the offense. However, your client understands and acknowledges that the Estimated Guidelines Range agreed to by the Office is not binding on the Probation Office or the Court. Should the Court or Probation Office determine that a different guidelines range is applicable, your client will not be permitted to withdraw his guilty plea on that basis, and the Government and your client will still be bound by this Agreement.

Your client understands and acknowledges that the terms of this section apply only to conduct that occurred before the execution of this Agreement. Should your client engage in any conduct after the execution of this Agreement that would form the basis for an increase in your client's base offense level or justify an upward departure (examples of which include, but are not limited to, obstruction of justice, failure to appear for a court proceeding, criminal conduct while pending sentencing, and false statements to law enforcement agents, the probation officer, or the Court), the Government is free under this Agreement to seek an increase in the base offense level based on that post-agreement conduct.

5. Agreement as to Sentencing Allocution

Based upon the information known to the Government at the time of the signing of this Agreement, the parties further agree that a sentence within the Estimated Guidelines Range (or below) would constitute a reasonable sentence in light of all of the factors set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), should such a sentence be subject to appellate review notwithstanding the appeal waiver provided below.

6. Reservation of Allocution

The Government and your client reserve the right to describe fully, both orally and in writing, to the sentencing judge, the nature and seriousness of your client's misconduct, including any misconduct not described in the charge to which your client is pleading guilty.

The parties also reserve the right to inform the presentence report writer and the Courts of any relevant facts, to dispute any factual inaccuracies in the presentence report, and to contest any matters not provided for in this Agreement. In the event that the Courts considers any Sentencing Guidelines adjustments, departures, or calculations different from any agreements contained in this Agreement, or contemplates a sentence outside the Guidelines range based upon the general sentencing factors listed in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), the parties reserve the right to answer any related inquiries from the Courts. In addition, your client acknowledges that the

Government is not obligated to file any post-sentence downward departure motion in this case pursuant to Rule 35(b) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

7. Court Not Bound by this Agreement or the Sentencing Guidelines

Your client understands that the sentence in this case will be imposed in accordance with 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), upon consideration of the Sentencing Guidelines. Your client further understands that the sentence to be imposed is a matter solely within the discretion of the Courts. Your client acknowledges that the Courts are not obligated to follow any recommendation of the Government at the time of sentencing or to grant a downward departure based on your client's substantial assistance to the Government, even if the Government files a motion pursuant to Section 5K1.1 of the Sentencing Guidelines. Your client understands that neither the Government's recommendation nor the Sentencing Guidelines are binding on the Courts.

Your client acknowledges that your client's entry of a guilty plea to the charged offenses authorizes the Court to impose any sentence, up to and including the statutory maximum sentence, which may be greater than the applicable Guidelines range determined by the Court. Although the parties agree that the sentences here and in the Eastern District of Virginia should run concurrently to the extent there is factual overlap (i.e. the tax and foreign bank account charges), that recommendation is not binding on either Court. The Government cannot, and does not, make any promise or representation as to what sentences your client will receive. Moreover, your client acknowledges that your client will have no right to withdraw your client's plea of guilty should the Courts impose sentences that are outside the Guidelines range or if the Courts do not follow the Government's sentencing recommendation. The Government and your client will be bound by this Agreement, regardless of the sentence imposed by the Courts. Any effort by your client to withdraw the guilty plea because of the length of the sentence shall constitute a breach of this Agreement.

8. Cooperation

Your client shall cooperate fully, truthfully, completely, and forthrightly with the Government and other law enforcement authorities identified by the Government in any and all matters as to which the Government deems the cooperation relevant. This cooperation will include, but is not limited to, the following:

- (a) The defendant agrees to be fully debriefed and to attend all meetings at which his presence is requested, concerning his participation in and knowledge of all criminal activities.
- (b) The defendant agrees to furnish to the Government all documents and other material that may be relevant to the investigation and that are in the defendant's possession or control and to participate in undercover activities pursuant to the specific instructions of law enforcement agents or the Government.
- (c) The defendant agrees to testify at any proceeding in the District of Colombia or elsewhere as requested by the Government.

- (d) The defendant consents to adjournments of his sentences as requested by the Government.
- (e) The defendant agrees that all of the defendant's obligations under this agreement continue after the defendant is sentenced here and in the Eastern District of Virginia; and
- (f) The defendant must at all times give complete, truthful, and accurate information and testimony, and must not commit, or attempt to commit, any further crimes.

Your client acknowledges and understands that, during the course of the cooperation outlined in this Agreement, your client will be interviewed by law enforcement agents and/or Government attorneys. Your client waives any right to have counsel present during these interviews and agrees to meet with law enforcement agents and Government attorneys outside of the presence of counsel. If, at some future point, you or your client desire to have counsel present during interviews by law enforcement agents and/or Government attorneys, and you communicate this decision in writing to this Office, this Office will honor this request, and this change will have no effect on any other terms and conditions of this Agreement.

Your client shall testify fully, completely and truthfully before any and all Grand Juries in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, and at any and all trials of cases or other court proceedings in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, at which your client's testimony may be deemed relevant by the Government.

Your client understands and acknowledges that nothing in this Agreement allows your client to commit any criminal violation of local, state or federal law during the period of your client's cooperation with law enforcement authorities or at any time prior to the sentencing in this case. The commission of a criminal offense during the period of your client's cooperation or at any time prior to sentencing will constitute a breach of this Agreement and will relieve the Government of all of its obligations under this Agreement, including, but not limited to, its obligation to inform this Court of any assistance your client has provided. However, your client acknowledges and agrees that such a breach of this Agreement will not entitle your client to withdraw your client's plea of guilty or relieve your client of the obligations under this Agreement.

Your client agrees that the sentencing in this case and in the Eastern District of Virginia may be delayed until your client's efforts to cooperate have been completed, as determined by the Government, so that the Courts will have the benefit of all relevant information before a sentence is imposed.

9. Government's Obligations

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The Government will bring to the Courts' attention at the time of sentencing the nature and extent of your client's cooperation or lack of cooperation. The Government will evaluate the full nature and extent of your client's cooperation to determine whether your client has provided substantial assistance in the investigation or prosecution of another person who has committed an offense. If this Office determines that the defendant has provided substantial assistance in the form of truthful information and, where applicable, testimony, the Office will file motions pursuant to Section 5K1.1 of the United States Sentencing Guidelines. Defendant will then be free to argue for any sentence below the advisory Sentencing Guidelines range calculated by the Probation Office, including probation.

10. Waivers

A. Venue

Your client waives any challenge to venue in the District of Columbia.

B. Statute of Limitations

Your client agrees that, should any plea or conviction following your client's pleas of guilty pursuant to this Agreement, or the guilty verdicts in the Eastern District of Virginia, be vacated, set aside, or dismissed for any reason (other than by government motion as set forth herein), any prosecution based on the conduct set forth in the attached Statement of the Offense, as well as any crimes that the Government has agreed not to prosecute or to dismiss pursuant to this Agreement, that is not time-barred by the applicable statute of limitations on the date of the signing of this Agreement, may be commenced or reinstated against your client, notwithstanding the expiration of the statute of limitations between the signing of this Agreement and the commencement or reinstatement of such prosecution. It is the intent of this Agreement to waive all defenses based on the statute of limitations with respect to any prosecution of conduct set forth in the attached Statement of the Offense, or any other crimes that the Government has agreed not to prosecute, that are not time-barred on the date that this Agreement is signed. The Office and any other party will be free to use against your client, directly and indirectly, in any criminal or civil proceeding, all statements made by your client, including the Statement of the Offense, and any of the information or materials provided by your client, including such statements, information, and materials provided pursuant to this Agreement or during the course of any debriefings conducted in anticipation of, or after entry of, this Agreement, whether or not the debriefings were previously a part of proffer-protected debriefings, and your client's statements made during proceedings before the Court pursuant to Rule 11 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

C. Trial and Other Rights

Your client understands that by pleading guilty in this case your client agrees to waive certain rights afforded by the Constitution of the United States and/or by statute or rule. Your client agrees to forgo the right to any further discovery or disclosures of information not already provided at the time of the entry of your client's guilty plea. Your client also agrees to waive,

among other rights, the right to be indicted by a Grand Jury, the right to plead not guilty, and the right to a jury trial. If there were a jury trial, your client would have the right to be represented by counsel, to confront and cross-examine witnesses against your client, to challenge the admissibility of evidence offered against your client, to compel witnesses to appear for the purpose of testifying and presenting other evidence on your client's behalf, and to choose whether to testify. If there were a jury trial and your client chose not to testify at that trial, your client would have the right to have the jury instructed that your client's failure to testify could not be held against your client. Your client would further have the right to have the jury instructed that your client is presumed innocent until proven guilty, and that the burden would be on the United States to prove your client's guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. If your client were found guilty after a trial, your client would have the right to appeal your client's conviction. Your client understands that the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States protects your client from the use of compelled self-incriminating statements in a criminal prosecution. By entering a plea of guilty, your client knowingly and voluntarily waives or gives up your client's right against compelled self-incrimination.

Your client acknowledges discussing with you Rule 11(f) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure and Rule 410 of the Federal Rules of Evidence, which ordinarily limit the admissibility of statements made by a defendant in the course of plea discussions or plea proceedings if a guilty plea is later withdrawn. Your client knowingly and voluntarily hereby waives the rights that arise under these rules to object to the use of all such statements by him on and after September 10, 2018, in the event your client breaches this agreement, withdraws his guilty plea, or seeks to withdraw from this Agreement after signing it. This Agreement supersedes the proffer agreement between the Government and the client.

Your client also agrees to waive all constitutional and statutory rights to a speedy sentence and agrees that the pleas of guilty pursuant to this Agreement will be entered at a time decided upon by the parties with the concurrence of the Court. Your client understands that the date for sentencing will be set by the Courts.

Your client agrees not to accept remuneration or compensation of any sort, directly or indirectly, for the dissemination through any means, including but not limited to books, articles, speeches, blogs, podcasts, and interviews, however disseminated, regarding the conduct encompassed by the Statement of the Offense, or the investigation by the Office or prosecution of any criminal or civil cases against him.

D. Appeal Rights

Your client understands that federal law, specifically 18 U.S.C. § 3742, affords defendants the right to appeal their sentences in certain circumstances. Your client agrees to waive the right to appeal the sentences in this case and the Eastern District of Virginia, including but not limited to any term of imprisonment, fine, forfeiture, award of restitution, term or condition of supervised release, authority of the Courts to set conditions of release, and the manner in which the sentences were determined, except to the extent the Courts sentence your client above the statutory maximum or guidelines range determined by the Courts or your client claims that your client received ineffective assistance of counsel, in which case your client would



have the right to appeal the illegal sentence or above-guidelines sentence or raise on appeal a claim of ineffective assistance of counsel, but not to raise on appeal other issues regarding the sentencings. In agreeing to this waiver, your client is aware that your client's sentences have yet to be determined by the Courts. Realizing the uncertainty in estimating what sentences the Courts ultimately will impose, your client knowingly and willingly waives your client's right to appeal the sentence, to the extent noted above, in exchange for the concessions made by the Government in this Agreement.

E. Collateral Attack

Your client also waives any right to challenge the conviction entered or sentence imposed under this Agreement or in the Eastern District of Virginia or otherwise attempt to modify or change the sentences or the manner in which they were determined in any collateral attack, including, but not limited to, a motion brought under 28 U.S.C. § 2255 or Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 60(b), except to the extent such a motion is based on a claim that your client received ineffective assistance of counsel.

Your client agrees that with respect to all charges referred to herein he is not a "prevailing party" within the meaning of the "Hyde Amendment," 18 U.S.C. § 3006A note, and will not file any claim under that law.

F. Privacy Act and FOIA Rights

Your client also agrees to waive all rights, whether asserted directly or by a representative, to request or receive from any department or agency of the United States any records pertaining to the investigation or prosecution of this case, including and without limitation any records that may be sought under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552, or the Privacy Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552a, for the duration of the Special Counsel's investigation.

11. Restitution

Your client understands that the Court has an obligation to determine whether, and in what amount, mandatory restitution applies in this case under 18 U.S.C. § 3663A. The Government and your client agree that mandatory restitution does not apply in this case.

12. Forfeiture

- a) Your client agrees to the forfeiture set forth in the Forfeiture Allegations in the Superseding Criminal Information to which your client is pleading guilty. Your client further agrees to forfeit criminally and civilly the following properties (collectively, the "Forfeited Assets") to the United States pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Sections 981(a)(1)(A), 981(a)(1)(C), 982(a)(1), 982(a)(2); Title 21, United States Code, Section 853(p), and Title 28 U.S.C. § 2461(c), and further agrees to waive all interest in such assets in any administrative or judicial forfeiture proceeding, whether criminal or civil, state or federal:
 - 1) The real property and premises commonly known as 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New

- York 11231 (Block 429, Lot 65), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- 2) The real property and premises commonly known as 29 Howard Street, #4D, New York, New York 10013 (Block 209, Lot 1104), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- 3) The real property and premises commonly known as 174 Jobs Lane, Water Mill, New York 11976, including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- 4) All funds held in account number property traceable thereto; 0969 at The Federal Savings Bank, and any
- 5) All funds seized from account number 1388 at Capital One N.A., and any property traceable thereto;
- 6) All funds seized from account number property traceable thereto; 9952 at The Federal Savings Bank, and any
- 7) Northwestern Mutual Universal Life Insurance Policy and any property traceable thereto;
- 8) The real property and premises commonly known as 123 Baxter Street, #5D, New York, New York 10016 in lieu of 1046 N. Edgewood Street; and

Your client agrees that his consent to forfeiture is final and irrevocable as to his interests in the Forfeited Assets.

b) Your client agrees that the facts set forth in the Statement of Facts and admitted to by your client establish that the Forfeited Assets are forfeitable to the United States pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Sections 981 and 982, Title 21, United States Code, Section 853, and Title 28, United States Code, Section 2461. Your client admits that the Forfeited Assets numbered 1 through 7, above, represent property that constitutes or is derived from proceeds of, and property involved in, the criminal offenses in the Superseding Criminal Information to which your client is pleading guilty. Your client further agrees that all the Forfeited Assets (numbered 1 through 9) can additionally be considered substitute assets for the purpose of forfeiture to the United States pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Section 982(b); Title 21, United States Code, Section 853(p); and Title 28, United States Code, Section 2461(c).

- c) Your client agrees that the Court may enter a preliminary order of forfeiture for the Forfeited Assets at the time of your client's guilty plea or at any time before sentencing, and consents thereto. Your client agrees that the Court can enter a Final Order of Forfeiture for the Forfeited Assets, and could do so as part of his sentence.
- d) Your client further agrees that the government may choose in its sole discretion how it wishes to accomplish forfeiture of the property whose forfeiture your client has consented to in this plea agreement, whether by criminal or civil forfeiture, using judicial or non-judicial forfeiture processes. If the government chooses to effect the forfeiture provisions of this plea agreement through the criminal forfeiture process, your client agrees to the entry of orders of forfeiture for such property and waives the requirements of Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure 11(b)(1)(J) and 32.2 regarding notice of the forfeiture in the charging instrument, advice regarding the forfeiture at the change-of-plea hearing, announcement of the forfeiture at sentencing, and incorporation of the forfeiture in the judgment.
- e) Your client understands that the United States may institute civil or administrative forfeiture proceedings against all forfeitable property in which your client has an interest, including the Forfeited Assets, without regard to the status of his criminal conviction. Your client further consents to the civil forfeiture of the Forfeited Assets to the United States, without regard to the status of his criminal conviction. In connection therewith, your client specifically agrees to waive all right, title, and interest in the Forfeited Assets, both individually and on behalf of DMP International, Summerbreeze LLC, or any other entity of which he is an officer, member, or has any ownership interest. Your client waives all defenses based on statute of limitations and venue with respect to any administrative or civil forfeiture proceeding related to the Forfeited Assets.
- either the sole and rightful owner and that no other person or entity has any claim or interest, or that he has secured the consent from any other individuals or entities having an interest in the Forfeited Assets to convey their interests in the Forfeited Assets to him prior to entry of the Order of Forfeiture (with the exception of previously disclosed mortgage holders). Your client warrants that he has accurately represented to the Government all those individuals and entities having an interest in the Forfeited Assets and the nature and extent of those interests, including any mortgages or liens on the Forfeited Assets. Your client agrees to take all steps to pass clear title to the Forfeited Assets to the United States (with the exception of previously disclosed mortgage liens). Your client further agrees to testify truthfully in any judicial forfeiture proceeding, and to take all steps to effectuate the same as requested by the Government. Your client agrees to take all steps requested by the Government to obtain from any other parties by any lawful means any records of assets owned at any time by your client, including but not limited to the Forfeited Assets, and to otherwise facilitate the effectuation of forfeiture and the maximization of the value of Forfeited Assets for the United States.
 - g) Your client agrees that, to the extent that he does not convey to the United States

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clear title to each of the Forfeited Assets, the United States is entitled, in its sole discretion, either to vacatur of the plea agreement or to forfeiture to the United States of a sum of money equal to the value of that asset at the time this agreement was executed. Your client consents to modification of any Order of Forfeiture at any point to add such sum of money as a forfeiture judgment in substitution for Forfeited Assets.

- h) Your client hereby abandons any interest he has in all forfeitable property and consents to any disposition of the property by the government without further notice or obligation whatsoever owning to your client.
- i) Your client agrees not to interpose any claim, or to assist others to file or interpose any claim, to the Forfeited Assets in any proceeding, including but not limited to any civil or administrative forfeiture proceedings and any ancillary proceedings related to criminal forfeiture. Your client agrees that he shall not file any petitions for remission, restoration, or any other assertion of ownership or request for return relating to the Forfeited Assets, or any other action or motion seeking to collaterally attack the seizure, restraint, forfeiture, or conveyance of the Forfeited Assets, nor shall your client assist any other in filing any such claims, petitions, actions, or motion. Contesting or assisting others in contesting forfeiture shall constitute a material breach of the Agreement, relieving the United States of all its obligations under the Agreement. Your client agrees not to seek or accept, directly or indirectly, reimbursement or indemnification from any source with regard to the assets forfeited pursuant to this Agreement.
- j) In the event your client fails to deliver the assets forfeited pursuant to this agreement, or in any way fails to adhere to the forfeiture provisions of this agreement, the United States reserves all remedies available to it, including but not limited to vacating the Agreement based on a breach of the Agreement by your client.
- k) Your client agrees that the forfeiture provisions of this plea agreement are intended to, and will, survive him notwithstanding the abatement of any underlying criminal conviction after the execution of this Agreement.
- l) Your client agrees that he will not claim, assert, or apply for, directly or indirectly, any tax deduction, tax credit, or any other taxable offset with regard to any federal, state, or local tax or taxable income for payments of any assets forfeited pursuant to this Agreement.
- m) Your client agrees to waive all constitutional and statutory challenges in any manner (including, but not limited to, direct appeal) to any forfeiture carried out in accordance with this Agreement on any grounds, including that the forfeiture constitutes an excessive fine or punishment.

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13. Breach of Agreement

Your client understands and agrees that, if after entering this Agreement, your client fails specifically to perform or to fulfill completely each and every one of your client's obligations under this Agreement, or engages in any criminal activity prior to sentencing or during his cooperation (whichever is later), your client will have breached this Agreement. Should it be judged by the Government in its sole discretion that the defendant has failed to cooperate fully, has intentionally given false, misleading or incomplete information or testimony, has committed or attempted to commit any further crimes, or has otherwise violated any provision of this agreement, the defendant will not be released from his pleas of guilty but the Government will be released from its obligations under this agreement, including (a) not to oppose a downward adjustment of two levels for acceptance of responsibility described above, and to make the motion for an additional one-level reduction described above and (b) to file the motion for a downward departure for cooperation described above. Moreover, the Government may withdraw the motion described above, if such motion has been filed prior to sentencing. In the event that it is judged by the Government that there has been a breach: (a) your client will be fully subject to criminal prosecution, in addition to the charges contained in the Superseding Criminal Information, for any crimes to which he has not pled guilty, including perjury and obstruction of justice; and (b) the Government and any other party will be free to use against your client, directly and indirectly, in any criminal or civil proceeding, all statements made by your client, including the Statement of the Offense, and any of the information or materials provided by your client, including such statements, information, and materials provided pursuant to this Agreement or during the course of any debriefings conducted in anticipation of, or after entry of, this Agreement, whether or not the debriefings were previously a part of profferprotected debriefings, and your client's statements made during proceedings before the Court pursuant to Rule 11 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

Your client understands and agrees that the Government shall be required to prove a breach of this Agreement only by good faith.

Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to protect your client from prosecution for any crimes not included within this Agreement or committed by your client after the execution of this Agreement. Your client understands and agrees that the Government reserves the right to prosecute your client for any such offenses. Your client further understands that any perjury, false statements or declarations, or obstruction of justice relating to your client's obligations under this Agreement shall constitute a breach of this Agreement. In the event of such a breach, your client will not be allowed to withdraw your client's guilty plea.

14. Complete Agreement

Apart from the written proffer agreement initially dated September 11, 2018, which this Agreement supersedes, no agreements, promises, understandings, or representations have been

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made by the parties or their counsel other than those contained in writing herein, nor will any such agreements, promises, understandings, or representations be made unless committed to writing and signed by your client, defense counsel, and the Office.

Your client further understands that this Agreement is binding only upon the Office. This Agreement does not bind any United States Attorney's Office, nor does it bind any other state, local, or federal prosecutor. It also does not bar or compromise any civil, tax, or administrative claim pending or that may be made against your client.

If the foregoing terms and conditions are satisfactory, your client may so indicate by

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signing this Agreement and the Statement of the Offense, and returning both to the Office no later than September 14, 2018.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III Special Counsel

By:

Andrew Weissmann

Jeannie S. Rhee

Greg D. Andres

Kyle R. Freeny

Senior/Assistant Special Counsels

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DEFENDANT'S ACCEPTANCE

I have read every page of this Agreement and have discussed it with my attorneys Kevin Downing, Thomas Zehnle, and Richard Westling. I am fully satisfied with the legal representation by them, who I have chosen to represent me herein. Nothing about the quality of the representation of other counsel is affecting my decision herein to plead guilty. I fully understand this Agreement and agree to it without reservation. I do this voluntarily and of my own free will, intending to be legally bound. No threats have been made to me nor am I under the influence of anything that could impede my ability to understand this Agreement fully. I am pleading guilty because I am in fact guilty of the offense identified in this Agreement.

I reaffirm that absolutely no promises, agreements, understandings, or conditions have been made or entered into in connection with my decision to plead guilty except those set forth in this Agreement. I am satisfied with the legal services provided by my attorneys in connection with this Agreement and matters related to it.

Date: 9-13-18

Paul J. Manafort, Jr.

Defendant

ATTORNEYS' ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I have read every page of this Agreement, reviewed this Agreement with my client, Paul J. Manafort, and fully discussed the provisions of this Agreement with my client. These pages accurately and completely set forth the entire Agreement. I concur in my client's desire to plead guilty as set forth in this Agreement.

Date: 9-13-2018

Keyin M. Downing

Richard W. Westling

Thomas E. Zehnle

Attorneys for Defendant



IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Clerk, U.S. District & Bankruptcy Courts for the District of Columbia

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA *

* CRIMINAL NO. 17-201-1 (ABJ)

* Violations: 18 U.S.C. § 371

* (Conspiracy Against the United States* and Conspiracy to Obstruct Justice)

PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR.,

V.

Defendant.

STATEMENT OF THE OFFENSES AND OTHER ACTS

Pursuant to the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure 11, the United States and the defendant PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR. (MANAFORT) stipulate and agree that the following facts are true and accurate. These facts do not constitute all of the facts known to the parties concerning the charged offense and covered conduct. This statement is being submitted by the parties to demonstrate that sufficient facts exist to establish that the defendant committed the offenses to which he is pleading guilty.

Count 1: Conspiracy Against the United States (18 U.S.C. § 371)

1. At all relevant times herein, MANAFORT was an owner of Davis Manafort Partners, Inc. (DMP) or DMP International, LLC (DMI) or both. MANAFORT engaged in a variety of criminal schemes, and knowingly, intentionally, and willfully conspired with Richard W. Gates, Konstantin Kilimnik, and others to carry out the criminal schemes that make up Counts One and Two of the Information, as more fully set forth below.

A. FARA Conspiracy 22 U.S.C. §§ 612 and 618(a)(1)

MANAFORT's Lobbying in the United States on Behalf of the Government of Ukraine

- 2. MANAFORT knew it was illegal to lobby government officials and engage in public relations activities (hereinafter collectively referred to as lobbying) in the United States on behalf of a foreign government or political party, without registering with the United States Government under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. MANAFORT knew he was lobbying in the United States for the Government of Ukraine, President Viktor F. Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the Opposition Bloc (the latter two being political parties in Ukraine), and thus he was supposed to submit a written registration statement to the United States Department of Justice. MANAFORT knew that the filing was required to disclose the name of the foreign country, all the financial payments to the lobbyist, and the specific steps undertaken for the foreign country in the United States, among other information.
- 3. MANAFORT knew that Ukraine had a strong interest in the United States' taking economic and policy positions favorable to Ukraine, including not imposing sanctions on Ukraine. MANAFORT also knew that the trial and treatment of President Yanukovych's political rival, former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, was strongly condemned by leading United States executive and legislative branch officials, and was a major hurdle to improving United States and Ukraine relations.
- 4. From 2006 until 2015, MANAFORT led a multi-million dollar lobbying campaign in the United States at the direction of the Government of Ukraine, President Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the Opposition Bloc. MANAFORT intentionally did so without registering and providing the disclosures required by law.
- 5. As part of the lobbying scheme, MANAFORT hired numerous firms and people to assist in his lobbying campaign in the United States. He hired Companies A, B, C, D, and E, and Law Firm A, among others, to participate in what he described to President Yanukovych in writing as a global



"Engage Ukraine" lobbying campaign that he devised and led. These companies and law firm were paid the equivalent of over \$11 million for their Ukraine work.

- 6. MANAFORT viewed secrecy for himself and for the actions of his lobbyists as integral to the effectiveness of the lobbying offensive he orchestrated for Ukraine. Filing under the Foreign Agents Registration Act would have thwarted the secrecy MANAFORT sought in order to conduct an effective campaign for Ukraine to influence both American leaders and the American public.
- 7. MANAFORT took steps to avoid any of these firms and people disclosing their lobbying efforts under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. As one example, even though MANAFORT engaged Company E in 2007 to lobby in the United States for the Government of Ukraine, MANAFORT tried to dissuade Company E from filing under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Only after MANAFORT ceased to use Company E in the fall of 2007 did Company E disclose its work for Ukraine, in a belated filing under the Act in 2008.
- 8. MANAFORT took other measures to keep the Ukraine lobbying as secret as possible. For example, MANAFORT, in written communications on or about May 16, 2013, directed his lobbyists (including Persons D1 and D2, who worked for Company D) to write and disseminate within the United States news stories that alleged that Tymoshenko had paid for the murder of a Ukrainian official. MANAFORT stated that it should be "push[ed]" "[w]ith no fingerprints." "It is very important we have no connection." MANAFORT stated that "[m]y goal is to plant some stink on Tymo." Person D1 objected to the plan, but ultimately Persons D1 and D2 complied with .

 MANAFORT's direction. The Foreign Agents Registration Act required MANAFORT to disclose such lobbying, as MANAFORT knew. He did not.

The Hapsburg Group and Company D

9. As part of the lobbying scheme, starting in 2011, MANAFORT secretly retained Company

D and a group of four former European heads of state and senior officials (including a former Austrian Chancellor, Italian Prime Minister, and Polish President) to lobby in the United States and Europe on behalf of Ukraine. The former politicians, called the Hapsburg Group by MANAFORT, appeared to be providing solely their independent assessments of Government of Ukraine policies, when in fact they were paid by Ukraine. MANAFORT explained in an "EYES ONLY" memorandum in or about June 2012 that his purpose was to "assemble a small group of high-level European infuencial [sic] champions and politically credible friends who can act informally and without any visible relationship with the Government of Ukraine."

- 10. Through MANAFORT, the Government of Ukraine retained an additional group of lobbyists (Company D and Persons D1 and D2). In addition to lobbying itself, Company D secretly served as intermediaries between the Hapsburg Group and MANAFORT and the Government of Ukraine. In or about 2012 through 2013, MANAFORT directed more than the equivalent of 700,000 euros to be wired from at least three of his offshore accounts to the benefit of Company D to pay secretly for its services.
- 11. All four Hapsburg Group members, at the direction, and with the direct assistance, of MANAFORT, advocated positions favorable to Ukraine in meetings with United States lawmakers, interviews with United States journalists, and ghost written op-eds in American publications. In or about 2012 through 2014, MANAFORT directed more than 2 million euros to be wired from at least four of his offshore accounts to pay secretly the Hapsburg Group. To avoid European taxation, the contract with the Hapsburg Group falsely stated that none of its work would take place in Europe.
- 12. One of the Hapsburg Group members, a former Polish President, was also a representative of the European Parliament with oversight responsibility for Ukraine. MANAFORT solicited that

official to provide MANAFORT inside information about the European Parliament's views and actions toward Ukraine and to take actions favorable to Ukraine. MANAFORT also used this Hapsburg Group member's current European Parliament position to Ukraine's advantage in his lobbying efforts in the United States. In the fall of 2012, the United States Senate was considering and ultimately passed a resolution critical of President Yanukovych's treatment of former Prime Minister Tymoshenko. MANAFORT engaged in an all-out campaign to try to kill or delay the passage of this resolution. Among the steps he took was having the Hapsburg Group members reach out to United States Senators, as well as directing Companies A and B to have private conversations with Senators to lobby them to place a "hold" on the resolution. MANAFORT told his lobbyists to stress to the Senators that the former Polish President who was advocating against the resolution was currently a designated representative of the President of the European Parliament, to give extra clout to his supposedly independent judgment against the Senate resolution. MANAFORT never revealed to the Senators or to the American public that any of these lobbyists or Hapsburg Group members were paid by Ukraine.

13. In another example, on May 16, 2013, another member of the Hapsburg Group lobbied in the United States for Ukraine. The Hapsburg Group member accompanied his country's prime minister to the Oval Office and met with the President and Vice President of the United States, as well as senior United States officials in the executive and legislative branches. In written communications sent to MANAFORT, Person D1 reported that the Hapsburg Group member delivered the message of not letting "Russians Steal Ukraine from the West." The Foreign Agents Registration Act required MANAFORT to disclose such lobbying, as MANAFORT knew. He did not.

Law Firm Report and Tymoshenko

- 14. As another part of the lobbying scheme, in 2012, on behalf of President Yanukovych and the Government of Ukraine's Ministry of Justice, MANAFORT solicited a United States law firm to write a report evaluating the trial of Yanukovych's political opponent Yulia Tymoshenko. MANAFORT caused Ukraine to hire the law firm so that its report could be used in the United States and elsewhere to defend the Tymoshenko criminal trial and argue that President Yanukovych and Ukraine had not engaged in selective prosecution.
- 15. MANAFORT retained a public relations firm (Company C) to prepare a media roll-out plan for the law firm report. MANAFORT used one of his offshore accounts to pay Company C the equivalent of more than \$1 million for its services.
- 16. MANAFORT worked closely with Company C to develop a detailed written lobbying plan in connection with what MANAFORT termed the "selling" of the report. This campaign included getting the law firm's report "seeded" to the press in the United States—that is, to leak the report ahead of its official release to a prominent United States newspaper and then use that initial article to influence reporting globally. As part of the roll-out plan, on the report's issuance on December 13, 2012, MANAFORT arranged to have the law firm disseminate hard copies of the report to numerous government officials, including senior United States executive and legislative branch officials.
- 17. MANAFORT reported on the law firm's work on the report and Company C's lobbying plan to President Yanukovych and other representatives of the Government of Ukraine. For example, in a July 27, 2012 memorandum to President Yanukovych's Chief of Staff, MANAFORT reported on "the global rollout strategy for the [law firm's] legal report, and provide[d] a detailed plan of action[]" which included step-by-step lobbying outreach in the United States.
- 18. MANAFORT directed lobbyists to tout the report as showing that President Yanukovych

had not selectively prosecuted Tymoshenko. But in November 2012 MANAFORT had been told privately in writing by the law firm that the evidence of Tymoshenko's criminal intent "is virtually non-existent" and that it was unclear even among legal experts that Tymoshenko lacked power to engage in the conduct central to the Ukraine criminal case. These facts, known by MANAFORT, were not disclosed to the public.

- 19. MANAFORT knew that the report also did not disclose that the law firm, in addition to being retained to write the report, was retained to represent Ukraine itself, including in connection with the Tymoshenko case and to provide training to the trial team prosecuting Tymoshenko.
- 20. MANAFORT also knew that the Government of Ukraine did not want to disclose how much the report cost. More than \$4.6 million was paid to the law firm for its work. MANAFORT used one of his offshore accounts to funnel \$4 million to pay the law firm, a fact that MANAFORT did not disclose to the public. Instead, the Government of Ukraine reported falsely that the report cost just \$12,000.
- 21. MANAFORT and others knew that the actual cost of the report and the scope of the law firm's work would undermine the report's being perceived as an independent assessment and thus being an effective lobbying tool for MANAFORT to use to support the incarceration of President Yanukovych's political opponent.
- 22. In addition to the law firm report, MANAFORT took other steps on behalf of the Government of Ukraine to tarnish Tymoshenko in the United States. In addition to disseminating stories about her soliciting murder, noted above, in October 2012, MANAFORT orchestrated a scheme to have, as he wrote in a contemporaneous communication, "[O]bama jews" put pressure on the Administration to disavow Tymoshenko and support Yanukovych. MANAFORT sought to undermine United States support for Tymoshenko by spreading stories in the United States that

a senior Cabinet official (who had been a prominent critic of Yanukovych's treatment of Tymoshenko) was supporting anti-Semitism because the official supported Tymoshenko, who in turn had formed a political alliance with a Ukraine party that espoused anti-Semitic views. MANAFORT coordinated privately with a senior Israeli government official to issue a written statement publicizing this story. MANAFORT then, with secret advance knowledge of that Israeli statement, worked to disseminate this story in the United States, writing to Person D1 "I have someone pushing it on the NY Post. Bada bing bada boom." MANAFORT sought to have the Administration understand that "the Jewish community will take this out on Obama on election day if he does nothing." MANAFORT then told his United States lobbyist to inform the Administration that Ukraine had worked to prevent the Administration's presidential opponent from including damaging language in the Israeli statement, so as not to harm the Administration, and thus further ingratiate Yanukovych with the Administration.

Company A and Company B

- 23. As a third part of the lobbying scheme, in February 2012, MANAFORT solicited two Washington, D.C. lobbying firms (Company A and Company B) to lobby in the United States on behalf of President Yanukovych, the Party of Regions and the Government of Ukraine. For instance, in early 2012 at the inception of the relationship, Company B wrote in an email to its team about a "potential representation for the Ukraine," having been contacted "at the suggestion of Paul Manafort who has been working on the current PM elections."
- 24. MANAFORT arranged to pay Companies A and B over \$2 million from his offshore accounts for their United States lobbying work for Ukraine.
- 25. MANAFORT provided direction to Companies A and B in their lobbying efforts, including providing support for numerous United States visits by numerous senior Ukrainian officials.



Companies A and B, at MANAFORT's direction, engaged in extensive United States lobbying. Among other things, they lobbied dozens of Members of Congress, their staff, and White House and State Department officials about Ukraine sanctions, the validity of Ukraine elections, and the propriety of President Yanukovych's imprisoning Tymoshenko, his presidential rival.

- 26. In addition, with the assistance of Company A, MANAFORT also personally lobbied in the United States. He drafted and edited numerous ghost-written op-eds for publication in United States newspapers. He also personally met in March 2013 in Washington, D.C., with a Member of Congress who was on a subcommittee that had Ukraine within its purview. After the meeting, MANAFORT prepared a report for President Yanukovych that the meeting "went well" and reported a series of positive developments for Ukraine from the meeting.
- 27. Indeed, MANAFORT repeatedly communicated in person and in writing with President Yanukovych and his staff about the lobbying activities of Companies A and B and he tasked the companies to prepare assessments of their work so he, in turn, could brief President Yanukovych. For instance, MANAFORT wrote President Yanukovych a memorandum dated April 8, 2012, in which he provided an update on the lobbying firms' activities "since the inception of the project a few weeks ago. It is my intention to provide you with a weekly update moving forward." In November 2012, Gates wrote to Companies A and B that the firms needed to prepare an assessment of their past and prospective lobbying efforts so the "President" could be briefed by "Paul" "on what Ukraine has done well and what it can do better as we move into 2013." The resulting memorandum from Companies A and B, with input from Gates, noted among other things that the "client" had not been as successful as hoped given that it had an Embassy in Washington.
- 28. To distance their United States lobbying work from the Government of Ukraine, and to avoid having to register as agents of Ukraine under the Foreign Agents Registration Act,



MANAFORT with others arranged for Companies A and B to be engaged by a newly-formed Brussels entity called the European Centre for the Modern Ukraine (the Centre), instead of directly by the Government of Ukraine.

- 29. MANAFORT described the Centre as "the Brussels NGO that we have formed" to coordinate lobbying for Ukraine. The Centre was founded by a Ukraine Party of Regions member and Ukraine First Vice-Prime Minister. The head of its Board was another member of the Party of Regions, who became the Ukraine Foreign Minister.
- 30. In spite of these ties to Ukraine, MANAFORT and others arranged for the Centre to represent falsely that it was not "directly or indirectly supervised, directed, [or] controlled" in whole or in major part by the Government of Ukraine or the Party of Regions. MANAFORT knew that the false and misleading representations would lead Companies A and B not to register their activities pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.
- 31. Despite the Centre being the ostensible client of Companies A and B, MANAFORT knew that the Centre did not direct or oversee their work. The firms received direction from MANAFORT and his subordinate Gates, on behalf of the Government of Ukraine.
- 32. As MANAFORT knows from giving directions to Companies A and B, and from the discovery material provided herein, various employees of Companies A and B understood that they were receiving direction from MANAFORT and President Yanukovych, not the Centre, which was not even operational when Companies A and B began lobbying for Ukraine. MANAFORT, Gates, and employees of both Companies A and B referred to the client in ways that made clear they knew it was Ukraine, for instance noting that the "client" had an Embassy in Washington D.C. The head of Company B told his team to think the President of Ukraine "is the client." As a Company A employee noted to another company employee: the lobbying for the



Centre was "in name only. [Y]ou've gotta see through the nonsense of that[.]" "It's like Alice in Wonderland." An employee of Company B described the Centre as a fig leaf, and the Centre's written certification that it was not related to the Party of Regions as "a fig leaf on a fig leaf," referring to the Centre in an email as the "European hot dog stand for a Modern Ukraine."

Conspiring to Obstruct Justice: False and Misleading Submissions to the Department of Justice

- 33. In September 2016, after numerous press reports concerning MANAFORT had appeared in August, the Department of Justice National Security Division informed MANAFORT, Gates, and DMI in writing that it sought to determine whether they had acted as agents of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, without registering. In November 2016 and February 2017, MANAFORT and Gates conspired to knowingly and intentionally cause false and misleading letters to be submitted to the Department of Justice, through his unwitting legal counsel. The letters, both of which were approved by MANAFORT before they were submitted by his counsel, represented falsely, among other things, that:
 - a. DMI's "efforts on behalf of the Party of Regions" "did not include meetings or outreach within the U.S.";
 - b. MANAFORT did not "recall meeting with or conducting outreach to U.S. government officials or U.S. media outlets on behalf of the [Centre], nor do they recall being party to, arranging, or facilitating any such communications. Rather, it is the recollection and understanding of Messrs. Gates and Manafort that such communications would have been facilitated and conducted by the [Centre's] U.S. consultants, as directed by the [Centre]...";
 - c. MANAFORT had merely served as a means of introduction of Company A and Company B to the Centre and provided the Centre with a list of "potential U.S.-based

consultants—including [Company A] and [Company B]—for the [Centre's] reference and further consideration."

- d. DMI "does not retain communications beyond thirty days" and as a result of this policy, a "search has returned no responsive documents." The November 2016 letter attached a one-page, undated document that purported to be a DMI "Email Retention Policy."
- 34. In fact, MANAFORT had: selected Companies A and B; engaged in weekly scheduled calls and frequent emails with Companies A and B to provide them directions as to specific lobbying steps that should be taken; sought and received detailed oral and written reports from these firms on the lobbying work they had performed; communicated with Yanukovych to brief him on their lobbying efforts; both congratulated and reprimanded Companies A and B on their lobbying work; communicated directly with United States officials in connection with this work; and paid the lobbying firms over \$2.5 million from offshore accounts he controlled, among other things.
- 35. Although MANAFORT had represented to the Department of Justice in November 2016 and February 2017 that he had no relevant documents, in fact MANAFORT had numerous incriminating documents in his possession, as he knew at the time. The Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted a court-authorized search of MANAFORT'S home in Virginia in the summer of 2017. The documents attached hereto as Government Exhibits 503, 504, 517, 532, 594, 604, 606, 616, 691, 692, 697, 706 and 708, among numerous others, were all documents that MANAFORT had in his possession (and were found in the search) and all pre-dated the November 2016 letter.

B. Money Laundering Conspiracy

36. In or around and between 2006 and 2016, MANAFORT, together with others, did

knowingly and intentionally conspire (a) to conduct financial transactions, affecting interstate and foreign commerce, which involved the proceeds of specified unlawful activity, to wit, felony violations of FARA in violation of Title 22, United States Code, Sections 612 and 618, knowing that the property involved in the financial transactions represented proceeds of some form of unlawful activity, with intent to engage in conduct constituting a violation of sections 7201 and 7206 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986; and (b) to transport, transmit, and transfer monetary instruments and funds from places outside the United States to and through places in the United States and from places in the United States to and through places outside the United States, with the intent to promote the carrying on of specified unlawful activity, to wit: a felony violation of FARA, in violation of Title 22, United States Code, Sections 612 and 618, contrary to Title 18, United States Code, Section 1956(a)(1)(A)(ii) and (a)(2)(A).

37. MANAFORT caused the following transfers to be made, knowing that they were being made to entities to carry on activities that were required to be timely reported under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, but were not:

Payee	Date	Payer	Originating	Country of		Amount
			Bank Account	Origin	Destination	(USD)
	8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.			US	\$270,000.00
	10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$90,000.00
any A	11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$120,000.00
	11/20/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$182,968.07
Company	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$25,000.00
	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Hellenic Bank Account -2501	Cyprus	US	\$90,000.00
	9/18/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -1840	SVG*	US	\$135,937.37

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Payee	Date	Payer	Originating	Country of		Amount
			Bank Account	Origin	Destination	(USD)
	10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$167,689.40
	3/28/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$135,639.65
	4/3/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$82,979.93
Total	Company A	Transfers				\$1,300,214.42
	5/30/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$130,000.00
	8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$195,000.00
	10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$130,000.00
	11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$50,000.00
	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$54,649.51
Company B	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Ltd.	Hellenic Bank Account -2501	Cyprus	US	\$150,000.00
	9/3/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$175,857.51
	10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$195,857.51
	3/12/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$26,891.78
	3/21/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$138,026.00
	4/15/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$4,728.81
	4/25/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$4,739.23
Total	Company B	Transfers				\$1,255,750.35



Payee	Date	Payer	Originating	Country of		Amount
			Bank Account	Origin	Destination	(USD)
Law Firm A	4/19/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$2,000,000.00
	5/30/2012	Black Sea View Limited	7.1		US	\$1,000,000.00
	7/13/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$1,000,000.00
Total Law Firm A Transfers						\$4,000,000.00
TOTAL TRANSFERS					\$6,555,964.77	

^{*} SVG refers to St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

C. Tax and Foreign Bank Account Conspiracy 26 U.S.C. § 7206(1) 31 U.S.C. § 5314 and 5322(a)

- 38. From 2008 through 2014, MANAFORT caused millions of dollars of wire transfers to be made from offshore nominee accounts, without paying taxes on that income. The payments were made for goods, services, and real estate. MANAFORT also hid income by denominating various overseas payments as "loans," thereby evading payment of any taxes on that income by MANAFORT.
- 39. MANAFORT directly and through Gates repeatedly misled his bookkeeper and tax accountants, including by not disclosing Manafort's overseas accounts and income. Further, MANAFORT and Gates, acting at Manafort's instruction, classified overseas payments made to MANAFORT falsely as "loans" to avoid incurring additional taxes on the income.
- 40. MANAFORT owned and controlled a range of foreign bank accounts in Cyprus, the Grenadines, and the United Kingdom. MANAFORT directly and through Gates maintained these accounts, including by managing them and by making substantial transfers from the accounts to both himself and vendors for personal items for him and his family. MANAFORT was aware that many of these accounts held well in excess of \$10,000 in the aggregate at some point during each year in which they existed. MANAFORT did not report the accounts' existence to his bookkeeper

and his tax preparers in an effort to hide them, and to allow him to avoid disclosing their existence on an FBAR filing.

- 41. MANAFORT was aware at the time that it was illegal to hide income from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) by failing to account for reportable income on his income tax returns. MANAFORT was also aware that it was illegal to fail to report information to the IRS regarding the existence of foreign bank accounts, as required by Schedule B of the IRS Form 1040. MANAFORT also understood at the time that a U.S. person who had a financial interest in, or signature or other authority over, a bank account or other financial account in a foreign country, which exceeded \$10,000 in any one year (at any time during that year), was required to report the account to the Department of the Treasury. MANAFORT also understood, after 2010, that the failure to make such a report constituted a crime.
- 42. Knowing the existence of his reportable foreign accounts and hidden income, MANAFORT knowingly, intentionally, and willfully filed and conspired to file false tax returns from 2006-2015 in that he said he did not have reportable foreign bank accounts when he knew that he did, he did not report income that he knew he in fact had earned, and he did not file Foreign Bank Account Reports. MANAFORT failed to report over \$15 million in income during the period 2010-2014.

FORFEITURE

- 43. The following assets constitute or were derived from proceeds of MANAFORT's conspiracy to violate the Foreign Agents Registration Act and/or they constitute property involved in MANAFORT's conspiracy to launder money in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1956 or are traceable thereto and/or they represent substitute assets for such property which has been made unavailable for forfeiture by the acts or omissions of MANAFORT:
 - a) The real property and premises commonly known as 377 Union Street, Brooklyn, New

- York 11231 (Block 429, Lot 65), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- b) The real property and premises commonly known as 29 Howard Street, #4D, New York, New York 10013 (Block 209, Lot 1104), including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- c) The real property and premises commonly known as 174 Jobs Lane, Water Mill, New York 11976, including all appurtenances, improvements, and attachments thereon, and any property traceable thereto;
- d) All funds held in account number XXXXXX0969 at The Federal Savings Bank, and any property traceable thereto;
- e) All funds seized from account number XXXXXX1388 at Capital One N.A. and any property traceable thereto;
- f) All funds seized from account number XXXXXX9952 at The Federal Savings Bank and any property traceable thereto;
- g) Northwestern Mutual Universal Life Insurance Policy and any property traceable thereto;
- h) The real property and premises commonly known as 123 Baxter Street, #5D, New York, New York 10016 in lieu of 1046 N. Edgewood Street; and
- i) The real property and premises commonly known as 721 Fifth Avenue, #43G, New York, New York 10022 in lieu of all funds from account number at Charles Schwab & Co. Inc., and any property traceable thereto.

Count Two: Witness Tampering Conspiracy (18 U.S.C. § 371)

44. From in or about and between February 23, 2018, and April 2018, both dates being approximate and inclusive, within the District of Columbia and elsewhere, the defendant PAUL J.



MANAFORT, JR., together with others, including Konstantin Kilimnik, knowingly and intentionally conspired to corruptly persuade another person, to wit: Persons D1 and D2, with intent to influence, delay and prevent the testimony of any person in an official proceeding, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1512(b)(1). The facts set forth with respect to Count One are incorporated herein.

45. On February 22, 2018, MANAFORT was charged in the District of Columbia in a Superseding Indictment that for the first time included allegations about the Hapsburg Group and MANAFORT's use of that group to lobby illegally in the United States in violation of the Foreign Agent Registration Act. MANAFORT knew that the Act prescribed only United States lobbying. Immediately after February 22, 2018, MANAFORT began reaching out directly and indirectly to Persons D1 and D2 to induce them to say falsely that they did not work in the United States as part of the lobbying campaign, even though MANAFORT then and there well knew that they did lobby in the United States.

46. MANAFORT committed the following overt acts directly and through his conspirators.

Date/Time*	Sender	Receiver	Event
MAN	AFORT contacted	Person D1 by	phone and a messaging application:
2/24/2018; 15:51 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
2/24/2018; 15:51 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call: 1 min, 24 second call.
2/24/2018; 15:53 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "This is paul"
2/25/2018; 18:41 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.
2/26/2018; 23:56 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "http://www.businessinsider.com/former- european-leaders-manafort-hapsburg-group- 2018-2?r=UK&IR=T"



Date/Time*	Sender	Receiver	Event	
2/26/2018; 23:57 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Text: "We should talk. I have made clear that they worked in Europe."	
2/27/2018; 11:03 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.	
2/27/2018; 11:31 (UTC)	MANAFORT	Person D1	Phone call (attempted): No duration.	
Kilimni	k contacted Person	n D2 a messag	ing application, sending four messages:	
2/28/2018; 01:49 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"[Person D2], hi! How are you? Hope you are doing fine. ;))"	
2/28/2018; 01:51 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"My friend P is trying to reach [Person D1 to brief him on what's going on."	
2/28/2018; 01:51 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"If you have a chance to mention this to [Person D1] - would be great"	
2/28/2018; 01:53 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Basically P wants to give him a quick summary that he says to everybody (which true) that our friends never lobbied in the US, and the purpose of the program was E	
Kilimnik contac	cted Person D2 us	ing a different	messaging application, sending five messages:	
2/28/2018; 06:01 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey, how are you? This is K."	
2/28/2018; 06:01(CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hope you are doing fine."	
2/28/2018; 06:01 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"My friend P is trying to reach [Person D1] to brief him on what's going on"	
06:02 (CEST) summary that he sa true) that our frie		"Basically P wants to give him a quick summary that he says to everybody (which is true) that our friends never lobbied in the US, and the purpose of the program was EU"		



Date/Time*	Sender	Receiver	Event		
2/28/2018; Kilimnik Person D2 06:03 (CEST)		Person D2	"If you have a chance to mention this to [First Initial of Person D1's Name] it would be great. It would be good to get them connected to discuss in person. P is his friend."		
Kilimnik cont	acted Person D	2 using two diff	ferent applications, sending three messages:		
4/4/2018; 08:53 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey. This is Konstantin. My friend P asked me again to help connect him with [Person D1]. Can you help?"		
4/4/2018; 08:54 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"Hey. My friend P has asked me again if there is any way to help connect him throug [Person D1]		
4/4/2018; 08:54 (CEST)	Kilimnik	Person D2	"I tried him on all numbers."		
1	Kilimnik contac	ted Person D1 1	using a messaging application:		
4/4/2018; 13:00 (UTC)	Kilimnik	Person D1	"Hi. This is K. My friend P is looking for ways to connect to you to pass you several messages. Can we arrange that."		

^{*}UTC and CEST refer to Coordinated Universal Time and Central European Summer Time, respectively.

Other Acts

I. Bank/Bank Fraud Conspiracy 18 U.S.C. §§ 1344 and 1349

Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Citizens Bank / \$3.4 million loan (Charged as Count 24 in the Eastern District of Virginia Superseding Indictment)

47. Between December 2015 and March 2016, MANAFORT conspired to intentionally defraud Citizens Bank in connection with his application for a mortgage for approximately \$3.4 million. The mortgage related to a condominium on Howard Street in the Soho neighborhood of Manhattan, New York. During the course of the conspiracy, MANAFORT made and caused to be made, a series of false and fraudulent representations to the bank in order to secure the loan, including the



following: (a) MANAFORT falsely represented the amount of debt he had by failing to disclose on his loan application the existence of a mortgage on his Union Street property (from Genesis Capital); (b) MANAFORT caused an insurance broker to provide Citizens Bank false information, namely, an outdated insurance report that did not list the Union Street loan (from Genesis Capital); (c) MANAFORT falsely stated that a \$1.5 million Peranova loan had been forgiven in 2015; and (d) MANAFORT falsely represented to the lender and its agents that the Howard Street property was a secondary home used as such by his daughter and son-in-law and was not held as a rental property. These statements were material to Citizens Bank.

48. Citizens Bank was a financial institution chartered by the United States.

Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Banc of California / \$1 million loan (Charged as Count 26 in the Eastern District of Virginia Superseding Indictment)

- 49. In approximately February 2016, MANAFORT conspired to intentionally defraud Banc of California in connection with his application for a business loan. During the course of the conspiracy, MANAFORT made and caused to be made a series of false and fraudulent representations to the bank, including the following: (a) the submission of a false statement of assets and liabilities that failed to disclose a loan on the Union Street property (from Genesis Capital) and misrepresented, among other things, the amount of the mortgage on the Howard Street property; and (b) the submission of a doctored 2015 DMI profit and loss statement (P&L) that overstated DMI's 2015 income by more than \$4 million. These statements were material to Banc of California.
- 50. Banc of California was a financial institution chartered by the United States.



Bank Fraud Conspiracy / Citizens Bank / \$5.5 million loan (Charged as Count 28 in the Eastern District of Virginia Superseding Indictment)

51. Between December 2015 and March 2016, MANAFORT conspired to intentionally defraud Citizens Bank in connection with his application for a mortgage for approximately \$5.5 million on a property at Union Street in Brooklyn, New York. During the course of the conspiracy, MANAFORT made or caused to be made a series of false and fraudulent material representations to the bank in order to secure the loan, including the following: (a) the submission of a false statement of assets and liabilities that hid a prior loan on the Union Street property (from Genesis Capital), among other liabilities; and (b) the submission of a falsified 2016 DMI P&L that overstated DMI's income by more than \$2 million.

Bank Fraud/Bank Fraud Conspiracy / The Federal Savings Bank / \$9.5 million loan & \$6.5 million loan (Charged in Counts 29. 30, 31 & 32 in the Eastern District of Virginia Superseding Indictment)

- 52. Between April 2016 and January 2017, MANAFORT conspired to intentionally defraud, and did defraud, The Federal Savings Bank in connection with his applications for the following two loans: (a) a loan for approximately \$9.5 million related to various properties, including a house in Bridgehampton, New York, and (b) a loan for approximately \$6.5 million related to his Union Street property. During the course of the fraudulent scheme, MANAFORT made and caused to be made a series of false and fraudulent material representations to the bank in order to secure both loans, including the following: (a) MANAFORT provided the bank with doctored P&Ls for DMI for both 2015 and 2016, overstating its income by millions of dollars; and (b) MANAFORT falsely represented to The Federal Savings Bank that he had lent his credit card to a friend who had incurred more than \$200,000 in charges relating to the purchase of Yankee tickets.
- 53. Both loans were extended by The Federal Savings Bank.



54. The Federal Savings Bank was a financial institution chartered by the United States.

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III

Special Counsel

By:

Andrew Weissmann Jeannie S. Rhee Greg D. Andres Kyle R. Freeny

Senior/Assistant Special Counsels

DEFENDANT'S ACCEPTANCE

I have read every page of this Agreement and have discussed it with my attorneys Kevin Downing, Thomas Zehnle, and Richard Westling. I am fully satisfied with the legal representation by them, who I have chosen to represent me herein. Nothing about the quality of the representation of other counsel is affecting my decision herein to plead guilty. I fully understand this Agreement and agree to it without reservation. I do this voluntarily and of my own free will, intending to be legally bound. No threats have been made to me nor am I under the influence of anything that could impede my ability to understand this Agreement fully. I am pleading guilty because I am in fact guilty of the offense identified in this Agreement.

I reaffirm that absolutely no promises, agreements, understandings, or conditions have been made or entered into in connection with my decision to plead guilty except those set forth in this Agreement. I am satisfied with the legal services provided by my attorneys in connection with this Agreement and matters related to it.

Date: 9 - 14 - 18

Paul J. Manafort, Yr.

Defendant

ATTORNEYS' ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I have read every page of this Agreement, reviewed this Agreement with my client, Paul J. Manafort, and fully discussed the provisions of this Agreement with my client. These pages accurately and completely set forth the entire Agreement. I concur in my client's desire to plead guilty as set forth in this Agreement.

Date: 9-14-18

Kevin M. Downing

Richard W. Westling

Thomas E. Zehnle

Attorneys for Defendant

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EXHIBIT E

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

R THE

CLERK, U.S. DISTRICT COURT

ALEXANDE A VINCINIA

Alexandria Division

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)	
V.)	Criminal No. 1:17-CR-248
HYUNG KWON KIM,)	Hon. T. S. Ellis, III
Defendant.)	

PLEA AGREEMENT

Dana J. Boente, United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia; Mark D.

Lytle, Assistant United States Attorney; Stuart M. Goldberg, Acting Deputy Assistant Attorney

General for the Tax Division, U.S. Department of Justice; Mark F. Daly, Senior Litigation

Counsel and Robert J. Boudreau, Trial Attorney; the defendant, Hyung Kwon Kim; and the

defendant's counsel have entered into an agreement pursuant to Rule 11 of the Federal Rules of

Criminal Procedure. The terms of the agreement are as follows:

1. Offense and Maximum Penalties

The defendant agrees to waive indictment and plead guilty to a single count criminal information charging the defendant with willful failure to file a Report of Foreign Bank and Financial Accounts, FinCEN Report 114 (formerly TD F 90.22-1) (as applicable, "FBAR") with the Department of the Treasury, in violation of Title 31, United States Code, Sections 5314 and 5322(a), and Title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 1010.350.

The maximum penalties for this offense are: a maximum term of imprisonment of five years of imprisonment; a maximum fine of the greater of \$250,000 or twice the gross gain or loss; a special assessment, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. §§ 3013 and 3014; and three years of

supervised release. The defendant understands that this supervised release term is in addition to any prison term the defendant may receive, and that a violation of a term of supervised release could result in the defendant being returned to prison for the full term of supervised release.

2. Factual Basis for the Plea

The defendant will plead guilty because the defendant is in fact guilty of the charged offense. The defendant admits the facts set forth in the Statement of Facts filed with this plea agreement and agrees that those facts establish guilt of the offense charged beyond a reasonable doubt. The Statement of Facts, which is hereby incorporated into this plea agreement, constitutes a stipulation of facts for purposes of Section 1B1.2(a) of the U.S. Sentencing Commission's Sentencing Guidelines Manual ("Sentencing Guidelines").

3. Assistance and Advice of Counsel

The defendant is satisfied that his attorneys have rendered effective assistance. The defendant understands that by entering into this plea agreement, he surrenders certain rights as provided in this plea agreement. The defendant understands that the rights of criminal defendants include the following:

- a. the right to plead not guilty and to persist in that plea:
- b. the right to a jury trial:
- c. the right to be represented by counsel and, if necessary, have the Court appoint counsel at trial and at every other stage of the proceedings; and
- d. the right at trial to confront and to cross-examine adverse witnesses, to be protected from compelled self-incrimination, to testify and present evidence, and to compel the attendance of witnesses.

4. Role of the Court and the Probation Office

The defendant understands that the Court has jurisdiction and authority to impose any sentence within the statutory maximum described above but that the Court will determine his actual sentence in accordance with 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a). The defendant understands that the Court has not yet determined a sentence and that any estimate of the advisory sentencing range under the Sentencing Guidelines he may have received from his counsel, the United States, or the Probation Office, is a prediction, not a promise, and is not binding on the United States, the Probation Office, or the Court. Additionally, pursuant to the Supreme Court's decision in *United States v. Booker*, 543 U.S. 220 (2005), the Court, after considering the factors set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a), may impose a sentence above or below the Sentencing Guidelines' advisory sentencing range, subject only to review by higher courts for reasonableness. The United States makes no promise or representation concerning what sentence the defendant will receive, and he cannot withdraw a guilty plea based upon the actual sentence.

5. Sentencing Guidelines

The Government contends that the applicable Guideline in this matter should be U.S.S.G. § 2S1.3(a)(2), § 2B1.1, and § 2S1.3(b)(2) because the defendant filed two false FBARs and a false U.S. Individual Income Tax Return, Form 1040, within a 12-month period. However, at the time that the defendant agreed to plead guilty, the Government consistently took the position with similarly situated defendants that the applicable Guideline was U.S.S.G. § 2T1.1 and § 2T1.4 due to the cross reference in 2S1.3(c)(1).

Therefore, in order to ensure that the defendant receives equitable treatment, and in accordance with Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 11(c)(1)(B), the United States and the

defendant will recommend to the Court that the following provisions of the Sentencing Guidelines apply:

- a. The base offense level for this offense is 16 pursuant to U.S.S.G.
 § 2T1.1(a)(1) and § 2T4.1(F), because the tax loss exceeded \$100,000;
- b. The base offense level is increased by 2 levels pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 2T1.1(b)(2) because the offense involved sophisticated means; and
- c. the parties agree that they are free to argue other provisions of the Sentencing Guidelines not referenced herein or the sentencing factors under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a).

The United States and the defendant also agree that he has assisted the government in the investigation and prosecution of his own misconduct by timely notifying authorities of his intention to enter a plea of guilty, thereby permitting the government to avoid preparing for trial and permitting the government and the Court to allocate their resources efficiently. If the defendant qualifies for a two-level decrease in offense level pursuant to Sentencing Guidelines § 3E1.1(a) and the offense level prior to the operation of that section is 16 or greater, the government agrees to file, pursuant to Sentencing Guidelines § 3E1.1(b), a motion prior to, or at the time of, sentencing for an additional one-level decrease in the defendant's offense level.

6. Waiver of Appeal, FOIA, Privacy Act Rights, Venue and Statute of Limitations

The defendant also understands that 18 U.S.C. § 3742 affords him the right to appeal the sentence imposed. Nonetheless, the defendant knowingly waives the right to appeal the conviction and any sentence within the statutory maximum described above (or the manner in which that sentence was determined) on the grounds set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3742 or on any ground whatsoever other than an ineffective assistance of counsel claim that is cognizable on

direct appeal, in exchange for the concessions made by the United States in this plea agreement. This plea agreement does not affect the rights or obligations of the United States as set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3742(b).

The defendant hereby waives all rights, whether asserted directly or by a representative, to request or receive from any department or agency of the United States any records pertaining to the investigation or prosecution of this case, including without limitation any records that may be sought under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552, or the Privacy Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552a.

The defendant knowingly waives all rights to the venue requirement for Count One of the Information due to the fact that venue for the crimes committed lies in any other Federal judicial district, and the defendant further agrees to be prosecuted for this charge in the Eastern District of Virginia.

The defendant knowingly waives all rights to raise any defense based on the failure of a federal grand jury or the United States to charge him with the offense described in paragraph 1 of this agreement within any applicable statute of limitations.

7. Special Assessment

Before sentencing in this case, the defendant agrees to pay a mandatory special assessment of one hundred dollars (\$100.00).

8. Payment of Monetary Penalties

The defendant understands and agrees that, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3613, whatever monetary penalties are imposed by the Court will be due immediately and subject to immediate enforcement by the United States as provided for in Section 3613. Furthermore, within 14 days of a request, the defendant agrees to provide all of the defendant's financial information to the

United States and the Probation Office and, if requested, to participate in a pre-sentencing debtor's examination and/or complete a financial statement under penalty of perjury. If the Court imposes a schedule of payments, the defendant understands that the schedule of payments is merely a minimum schedule of payments and not the only method, nor a limitation on the methods, available to the United States to enforce the judgment. If the defendant is incarcerated, he agrees voluntarily to participate in the Bureau of Prisons' Inmate Financial Responsibility Program, regardless of whether the Court specifically directs participation or imposes a schedule of payments.

9. Restitution

The defendant agrees to the entry of a Restitution Order for the full amount of the victim's losses pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3663(a)(3). Victims of the conduct, as defined by 18 U.S.C. § 3663(a)(2) and described in the charging instrument or Statement of Facts or any other document describing the defendant's conduct, shall be entitled to restitution. Without limiting the amount of restitution that the Court must impose, the parties agree that, at a minimum, the following victims have suffered the following losses:

Victim Name/ Address

Amount of Restitution

TBD

IRS-RACS

Attn.: Mail Stop 6261, Restitution

333 West Pershing Avenue

Kansas City, MO 64108

The parties acknowledge that determination of the loss amounts for all victims in this matter is a complicated and time consuming process. To that end, the defendant agrees, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3664(d)(5), that the Court may defer the imposition of restitution until after the sentencing; however, the defendant specifically waives the 90 day provision found at 18 U.S.C.

§ 3664(d)(5) and consents to the entry of any orders pertaining to restitution after sentencing without limitation.

If the Court orders the defendant to pay restitution to the IRS for the failure to pay tax, either directly as part of the sentence or as a condition of supervised release, the IRS will use the restitution order as the basis for a civil assessment. See 26 U.S.C. § 6201(a)(4). The defendant does not have the right to challenge the amount of this assessment. See 26 U.S.C. § 6201(a)(4)(C). Neither the existence of a restitution payment schedule nor the defendant's timely payment of restitution according to that schedule will preclude the IRS from administrative collection of the restitution-based assessment, including levy and distraint under 26 U.S.C. § 6331.

10. Immunity from Further Prosecution in this District

The United States will not further criminally prosecute the defendant in the Eastern

District of Virginia for the specific conduct described in the information or Statement of Facts.

11. Waiver of Protections of Proffer Agreement

The defendant agrees that all protections set forth in any proffer letter executed in relation to this case are hereby waived. The defendant further agrees that the government may use all statements provided by him, without limitation, in any proceeding brought by the government, including the Internal Revenue Service, against the defendant.

12. Defendant's Cooperation

The defendant agrees to cooperate fully and truthfully with the United States, and provide all information known to him regarding any criminal activity as requested by the government. In that regard:

- a. The defendant agrees to appear for and testify truthfully and completely at any grand juries, trials or other proceedings.
- The defendant agrees to be reasonably available for debriefings, meetings,
 and pre-trial conferences as the United States may require.
- c. The defendant agrees to provide all documents, records, writings, or materials of any kind in the defendant's possession or under his care, custody, or control relating directly or indirectly to all areas of inquiry and investigation. Nothing in this plea agreement requires the defendant to waive any valid assertion of the attorney client privilege as to counsel advising him in connection with this investigation or any related proceeding.
- d. The defendant agrees that, at the request of the United States, he will voluntarily submit to polygraph examinations, and that the United States will choose the polygraph examiner and specify the procedures for the examinations.
- e. The defendant agrees that the Statement of Facts is limited to information necessary to support the plea. The defendant will provide more detailed facts relating to this case during ensuing debriefings.
- f. The defendant agrees to execute any and all instructions and authorizations to direct individuals, entities, or financial institutions to provide account documents and information as well as to repatriate funds held by foreign financial institutions in order to accomplish the terms and conditions of this plea agreement.
- g. The defendant acknowledges that he is hereby on notice that he may not violate any federal, state, or local criminal law while cooperating with the government, and that the government will, in its discretion, consider any such violation in evaluating whether to file a motion for a downward departure or reduction of sentence.

 h. Nothing in this plea agreement places any obligation on the government to seek the defendant's cooperation or assistance.

13. Use of Information Provided by the Defendant under this Plea Agreement.

The United States will not use any truthful information provided pursuant to this plea agreement in any criminal prosecution against the defendant in the Eastern District of Virginia, except in any prosecution for a crime of violence or conspiracy to commit, or aiding and abetting, a crime of violence (as defined in 18 U.S.C. § 16). Pursuant to Sentencing Guidelines §1B1.8, no truthful information that the defendant provides under this plea agreement will be used in determining the applicable Sentencing Guidelines advisory sentencing range, except as provided in §1B1.8(b). Nothing in this plea agreement, however, restricts the Court's or Probation Officer's access to information and records in the possession of the United States. Furthermore, nothing in this plea agreement prevents the government in any way from prosecuting the defendant should he knowingly provide false, untruthful, or perjurious information or testimony, or from using information provided by the defendant in furtherance of any forfeiture action, whether criminal or civil, administrative or judicial. The United States will bring this plea agreement and the full extent of the defendant's cooperation to the attention of other prosecuting offices if requested.

14. Defendant Must Provide Full, Complete and Truthful Cooperation

This plea agreement is not conditioned upon charges being brought against any other individual. This plea agreement is not conditioned upon any outcome in any pending investigation. This plea agreement is not conditioned upon any result in any future prosecution which may occur because of the defendant's cooperation. This plea agreement is not conditioned upon any result in any future grand jury presentation or trial involving charges

resulting from this investigation. This plea agreement is conditioned upon the defendant providing full, complete and truthful cooperation.

15. Motion for a Downward Departure

The parties agree that the United States reserves the right to seek any departure from the applicable Sentencing Guidelines advisory sentencing range, pursuant to § 5K1.1 of the Sentencing Guidelines and Policy Statements, or any reduction of sentence pursuant to Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 35(b), if, in its sole discretion, the United States determines that such a departure or reduction of sentence is appropriate.

16. Payment of Taxes and Filing of Tax Returns

The defendant consents to any motion by the United States, under Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 6(e)(3)(E), to disclose grand jury material to the Internal Revenue Service ("IRS") for use in computing and collecting his taxes, interest and penalties, and to the civil and forfeiture sections of the United States Attorney's Office for use in identifying assets and collecting fines and restitution. The defendant also agrees to file true and correct Amended U.S. Individual Income Tax Returns, Forms 1040X, for the years 2003 through 2010 and to pay all taxes, interest and penalties for the years 2003 through 2010, prior to sentencing, as will be agreed upon between him and the IRS, or as otherwise imposed or assessed by the IRS. The defendant also admits that he willfully failed to file a true and accurate FBAR for each required year 2003 through 2010, and agrees not to object to the assessment of fraud penalties pursuant to 26 U.S.C. § 6663. The defendant further agrees to make all books, records and documents available to the IRS for use in computing his taxes, interest and penalties for the years 1999 through 2010.

17. Penalty Related to filing False and Fraudulent FBARs

The defendant agrees that in order to resolve his civil liability for both willfully failing to file FBARs and for willfully filing false and fraudulent FBARs for years 1999 through 2010, he will pay a civil penalty in the amount of \$14,075,862 (fourteen million, seventy-five thousand, eight hundred and sixty-two dollars), equaling 50% of the total assets that the Defendant held in his undeclared accounts in Switzerland on December 31, 2004, no later than ten (10) days after the entry of Judgment in this case. The defendant further agrees to cause the transfer of the funds by electronic funds transfer pursuant to written instructions to be provided by the Financial Litigation Unit of the United States Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of Virginia. The defendant further agrees to cooperate with the United States, and make best efforts to transfer and remit the funds, including taking all steps requested by any financial institution or the United States, including the execution of all documents, orders, and/or instructions directing persons or entities acting on his behalf or in the name of nominee holders of accounts on his behalf, providing any information requested to facilitate the transfer, and granting access to information to facilitate the transfer. The defendant understands and agrees that nothing in paragraphs 15 and 16 of, or otherwise in, this plea agreement shall preclude or limit the IRS in its civil determination, assessment, or collection of any taxes, interest and/or penalties that he may owe.

The defendant agrees to file with the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network of the Department of the Treasury true and correct FBARs, including amended FBARs as needed, for 1999 through 2010.

18. Breach of this Plea Agreement and Remedies

This plea agreement is effective when signed by the defendant, his attorney, and an attorney for the United States. The defendant agrees to entry of this plea agreement at the date

and time scheduled with the Court by the United States (in consultation with his attorney). If the defendant withdraws from this plea agreement, or commits or attempts to commit any additional federal, state or local crimes, or intentionally gives materially false, incomplete, or misleading testimony or information, or otherwise violates any provision of this plea agreement, then:

- a. The United States will be released from its obligations under this plea agreement, including any obligation to seek a downward departure or a reduction in sentence.

 The defendant, however, may not withdraw the guilty plea entered pursuant to this plea agreement.
- b. The defendant will be subject to prosecution for any federal criminal violation, including, but not limited to, perjury and obstruction of justice, that is not time-barred by the applicable statute of limitations on the date this plea agreement is signed.

 Notwithstanding the subsequent expiration of the statute of limitations, in any such prosecution, the defendant agrees to waive any statute-of-limitations defense.
- c. Any prosecution, including the prosecution that is the subject of this plea agreement, may be premised upon any information provided, or statements made, by the defendant, and all such information, statements, and leads derived therefrom may be used against the defendant. The defendant waives any right to claim that statements made before or after the date of this plea agreement, including the statement of facts accompanying this plea agreement or adopted by the defendant and any other statements made pursuant to this or any other agreement with the United States, should be excluded or suppressed under Federal Rule of Evidence 410, Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 11(f), the Sentencing Guidelines or any other provision of the Constitution or federal law.

Any alleged breach of this plea agreement by either party shall be determined by the Court in an appropriate proceeding at which the defendant's disclosures and documentary evidence shall be admissible and at which the moving party shall be required to establish a breach of the plea agreement by a preponderance of the evidence. The proceeding established by this paragraph does not apply, however, to the decision of the United States whether to file a motion based on "substantial assistance" as that phrase is used in Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 35(b) and Section 5K1.1 of the Sentencing Guidelines and Policy Statements. The defendant agrees that the decision whether to file such a motion rests in the sole discretion of the United States.

19. Nature of this Plea Agreement and Modifications

This written plea agreement constitutes the complete plea agreement between the United States, the defendant, and his counsel. The defendant and his attorney acknowledge that no threats, promises, or representations have been made, nor agreements reached, other than those set forth in writing in this plea agreement, to cause him to plead guilty. Any modifications of this plea agreement shall be valid only as set forth in writing in a supplemental or revised plea agreement signed by all parties.

Dana J. Boente

United States Attorney

Eastern District of Virginia

By:

Mark D. Lytle

Assistant United States Attorney

Stuart M. Goldberg

Acting Deputy Assistant Attorney General

Department of Justice, Tax Division

By:

Mark F. Daly Senior Litigation Counsel

Robert J. Boudreau

Trial Attorney

Date: 10/26/2017

Date: 6/24/2017

Defendants Signature: I hereby agree that I have consulted with my attorney and fully understand all rights with respect to the pending criminal information. Further, I fully understand all rights with respect to Title 18, United States Code, Section 3553 and the provisions of the Sentencing Guidelines that may apply in my case. I have read this plea agreement and carefully reviewed every part of it with my attorney. I understand this plea agreement and voluntarily agree to it.

Hyung Kwon Kim

Defendant

Defense Counsel Signature: I am counsel for the defendant in this case. I have fully explained the defendant's rights to him with respect to the pending information. Further, I have reviewed Title 18, United States Code, Section 3553 and the Sentencing Guidelines, and I have fully explained to the defendant the provisions that may apply in this case. I have carefully reviewed every part of this plea agreement with the defendant. To my knowledge, the

defendant's decision to enter into this agreement is an informed and voluntary one.

Date: October 26 2017

Date: Octobe 26, 2017

Mark E. Matthews

Charles Myungsik Yoon

Counsel for the Defendant

EXHIBIT F

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

Alexandria Division

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)
v.) Case No. 1:17-CR-00248
HYUNG KWON KIM,) Honorable T. S. Ellis III
Defendant.) Sentencing: January 25, 2018) 4:00 p.m.

POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO SENTENCING

The United States hereby submits its position on the sentencing of the defendant Hyung Kwon Kim ("defendant" or "Kim") in accordance with U.S.S.G. §6A1.2 and the policy of this Court. As explained below, while the government agrees with the Probation Office's calculation of the sentencing range the advisory Sentencing Guidelines, the government nevertheless believes that the appropriate Guidelines range that should be applied in this case is that agreed upon by the parties, as set forth in the plea agreement. Taking into account the factors set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a) and the government's filing under seal, the government makes a final sentencing recommendation of nine (9) months of imprisonment, three (3) years of supervised release, an appropriate fine, and a \$100 special assessment.

I. Background

A. Offense Conduct

Hyung Kim is a highly educated and sophisticated executive. Born into affluence, he had the good fortune to inherit staggering sums. The vast sums Kim secreted in a series of secret Swiss accounts are of import here. At one point, in 2004, the windfall stashed in Switzerland

swelled to over \$28 million. Kim engaged in a series of schemes and ruses to conceal the funds from the IRS, violate reporting requirements, and evade taxes.

Kim first opened an account in his own name at Credit Suisse AG in Switzerland in October 1998. He funded that account, as well as other additional accounts that he opened at Credit Suisse, its wholly owned subsidiaries (including Bank Leu, Bank Hofmann, and Clariden Leu), and UBS AG, with funds inherited from a foreign relative.

In November 2000, Kim took the first of many steps to mask his ownership and control of the offshore funds. At the advice and with the assistance of his co-conspirator Edgar Paltzer, an attorney practicing in Switzerland, Kim opened an account at Bank Leu in the name of a sham entity called Daroka Overseas. In February 2002, he opened a second account, at Bank Hofmann, in the name of the same entity. By placing his assets in accounts held in the name of a nominee, Kim made it appear that the offshore funds belonged to a corporate entity, not him.

Kim controlled the assets in the account by meeting with the bankers and his attorney in in Switzerland and the United States as well as communicating with them via email, fax, and phone. Further, he hosted one of his Swiss bankers at his homes in the U.S. where the banker vacationed with his family and used Kim's residence as a base to travel to meet with his other clients.

Wires from afar flowed into these accounts. By the close of 2004, the balance of his accounts exceeded \$28 million. Kim did not expend these funds on necessities. Instead, Kim used assets in the accounts to fund a lavish lifestyle. The Statement of Facts and PSR discuss Kim's expenditures in detail. However, a summary of the spending is helpful to understand the magnitude of the wealth that Kim concealed:

- Between 2003 and 2007, Kim spent over \$3 million from his Swiss accounts to purchase his residence in Greenwich, Connecticut. Kim and Paltzer took efforts to conceal that Kim controlled the funds in the Swiss accounts. When Kim communicated with Paltzer, he used coded language. In turn, Paltzer directed Credit Suisse to issue a check for \$1.76 million from Credit Suisse First Boston, its U.S. bank, so that it appeared that Kim tapped a domestic source of funds.
- In 2005, Kim spent almost \$5 million from his Swiss accounts to purchase a summer home on Cape Cod. While the price was significant, what is most relevant are the machinations undertaken by Kim and Paltzer to conceal Kim's ownership of the Swiss accounts and the summer home itself. Paltzer formed a new sham entity, Edraith Invest & Finance, to hold title to the home as well as a Swiss account. Paltzer and Kim pretended that Kim merely leased the home in an arms-length transaction from a third party. They drafted and executed fake leases. They exchanged emails in which they discussed the wishes of the "owners."
- Between 2003 and 2008, Kim used over \$5 million from his Swiss accounts to purchase jewels and jewelry, including the following items: a 11.6 carat diamond ring; a 10.5 carat yellow diamond ring and jewelry setting; a 8.6 carat ruby ring; a 8.4 carat emerald ring; a 7.15 carat diamond ring; and pearls.
- Between 2000 and 2008, Kim withdrew over \$500,000 when traveling in Switzerland to fund his personal expenses.

Kim had the opportunity to bring his remaining assets to the United States in 2008, in the midst of the Department of Justice's investigation of UBS AG for aiding and assisting U.S. taxpayers to evade their taxes. At that time, Credit Suisse had advised Paltzer and Kim that it

intended to close the Daroka Overseas and Edraith accounts as part of its initiative to minimize the bank's exposure by closing accounts held by U.S. residents in the names of nominee entities. Fully aware that Kim's undeclared assets could not stay at Credit Suisse, Paltzer and Kim reviewed Kim's options: to report his previously undeclared assets and income to the IRS; to end his crimes by spending the assets; or to continue the concealment by transferring his assets to another bank. Kim chose to keep the money offshore, albeit at Bank Frey, a smaller Swiss bank that considered itself immune from U.S. law enforcement as it deliberately maintained no physical presence in the United States.¹

With the assistance of Paltzer, Kim opened accounts at Bank Frey in the names of Daroka Overseas and Edraith in December 2008. He deposited into those accounts the remaining assets from his accounts at Credit Suisse's subsidiaries. Paltzer advised Kim to take further precautions to prevent detection, by limiting emails and phone communications from the U.S. and meeting in third countries, such as France or Italy.

Kim maintained the accounts at Bank Frey until 2011. At that time, he elected not to report the funds, but to bring the assets to the United States in a covert manner by paying a

4

¹ In September 2008, as corroborated by the Internet Wayback Machine, Bank Frey's web site contained the following statements:

[&]quot;An important reason for founding Bank Frey was to provide our clients with the services of a Bank that is - and always will remain - truly Swiss," Dr. Markus A. Frey says.

As a result, Bank Frey follows a strict policy to never open any branch or other representation outside the reach of the Swiss laws and jurisdiction. We strongly believe that only by remaining a true Swiss banking institution, we can guarantee to act in accordance with the Swiss standards of political stability, acting in good faith and an unbroken sense for independent neutrality.

Dr. Markus A. Frey continues, "Bank Frey is and will remain truly Swiss. Only that way can we be certain to maintain our values - and assure that no foreign authority will ever 'bully' us into giving them up".

<u>See</u> "A True Swiss Bank", <u>available at https://web.archive.org/web/20080915012232/http://www.bank-frey.com:80/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=27&Itemid=55</u>. Bank Frey announced that it would cease operations in October 2013.

jeweler in Switzerland for jewels and jewelry purchased in the United States. Kim arranged the sales by mailing packages of gifts to the children of his former banker. Kim hid handwritten transfer instructions within those packages. Between March and August 2011, Kim spent a total of \$3.6 million in two separate transactions to purchase a ring with a sapphire weighing 13.9 carats and three loose diamonds weighing 5.02, 4.03 and 4.17 carats.

Kim concealed his offshore assets from his accountants. Indeed, although the defendant filed FBARs in 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008 (for calendar years 2004 through 2007) on which he reported accounts that he owned in South Korea, he never once reported his Swiss accounts.

Further, Kim also filed false income tax returns on which he underreported his income and failed to report his ownership of the Swiss accounts.

Kim did not earn substantial amounts of taxable income from the assets in the Swiss accounts. From 2001 through 2010, the combined federal and state income tax loss amounted to \$243,542. Indeed, the millions of dollars in capital losses that Kim incurred as a product of his ill-advised investing swamped his investment gains.

II. Sentencing Argument

Although the Supreme Court rendered the federal Sentencing Guidelines advisory in *United States v. Booker*, 543 U.S. 220 (2005), "a sentencing court is still required to 'consult [the] Guidelines and take them into account when sentencing." *United States v. Clark*, 434 F.3d 684, 685 (4th Cir. 2006) (quoting *Booker*, 543 U.S. at 264). The Supreme Court has directed district courts to "begin all sentencing proceedings by correctly calculating the applicable Guidelines range." *Gall v. United States*, 552 U.S. 38, 49 (2007). The sentencing court, however, "may not presume that the Guidelines range is reasonable." *Nelson v. United States*, 555 U.S. 350, 352 (2009). The "Guidelines should be the starting point and the initial

benchmark," but the sentencing court must also "consider all of the § 3553(a) factors" in determining the appropriate sentence. *Id.*; *see also Clark*, 434 F.3d at 685. Ultimately, the sentence imposed must meet a standard of reasonableness. *See Booker*, 543 U.S. at 260-61.

A. Guidelines Range

1. The Applicable Guidelines Provisions

The defendant pled guilty to the willful failure to file an FBAR, in violation of 31 U.S.C. Sections 5314 and 5322. The offense of conviction in this case falls under U.S.S.G. § 2S1.3. The Probation Office calculated the Guidelines range under U.S.S.G. § 2S1.3(a)(2) (the "Part-S Guidelines"). See Presentence Investigation Report, ¶ ¶ 76-85. That provision includes a cross-reference to the theft and fraud Guidelines, and sets the base offense level as follows:

6 plus the number of offense levels from the table in § 2B1.1 (Theft, Property Destruction, and Fraud) corresponding to the value of the funds, if subsection (a)(1) does not apply.

Probation calculated the base offense level as 28. Probation added 22 levels as it placed the "value of funds" at \$28,151,724, the year-end value of the assets in the unreported accounts in 2004 (the highest year-end balance). See PSR, ¶¶ 65(j), 76; U.S.S.G. § 2B1.1(b)(1)(L) (more than \$25 million).

The government contends, as does Probation, that two levels should be added as the defendant "committed the offense as part of a pattern of unlawful activity involving more than \$100,000 in a 12-month period." See U.S.S.G. § 2S1.3(b)(2). The Application Note to § 2S1.3 defines a pattern of illegal activity as "at least two separate occasions of unlawful activity involving a total amount of more than \$100,000 in a 12-month period, without regard to whether any such occasion occurred during the course of the offense or resulted in a conviction for the conduct that occurred on that occasion." Kim filed false FBARs on October 14, 2007 (for 2006) and again on March 27, 2008 (for 2008). On each FBAR, Kim failed to report that he owned and

controlled any of the financial accounts in Switzerland. Kim also filed a false 2007 Individual Income Tax Return, Form 1040, on March 3, 2008, which omitted any income that Kim earned from the assets in his undeclared accounts in Switzerland. Kim's attorneys calculated that Kim omitted \$104,699 in ordinary income on the 2007 return. The filing of two false FBARs and a false return within a 12-month period qualifies as a "pattern of unlawful activity" sufficient to trigger the two-level enhancement.

While 2S1.3 may be the proper Guideline, the government respectfully requests that the Court sentence the defendant under U.S.S.G. § 2T, the Tax Guidelines. As stated in the Plea Agreement, "at the time that the defendant agreed to plead guilty, the Government consistently took the position with similarly situated defendants that the applicable Guideline was U.S.S.G. § 2T1.1 and § 2T1.4 due to the cross reference in § 2S1.3(c)(1)." Plea Agreement, Dkt. # 10, pp. 3-4.

In 2012, Kim and the government commenced plea negotiations with the defendant's counsel. At that time, the government had entered into plea agreements with a number of several other legal permanent residents that required those individuals to plead guilty to FBAR charges, and not tax charges. In each of those cases, the plea agreements specifically set forth a Guidelines calculation using the Tax Guidelines and not § 2S1.3. After Kim and the government had reached an agreement in principle, the government continued to employ the Tax Guidelines in virtually every other FBAR case. In order to ensure that this defendant receives equitable treatment, the government believes that the appropriate Guidelines which should be applied *in this case* are the alternative calculation under § 2S1.3(c)(1).

7

² U.S.S.G. § 2S1.3 states as follows: "If the offense was committed for the purposes of violating the Internal Revenue laws, apply the most appropriate guideline from Chapter Two, Part T (Offenses Involving Taxation) if the resulting offense level is greater than that determined above."

The base offense level for this offense is 16 pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 2Tl.l(a)(1) and § 2T4.1(F), because the tax loss exceeded \$100,000. The base offense level is increased by 2 levels, pursuant to U.S.S.G. § 2T1.1(b)(2), because the offense involved sophisticated means. The defendant should receive a 3-level reduction for acceptance of responsibility resulting in a total offense level of 15. The advisory range is 18 to 24 months of imprisonment and the fine range is \$4,000 to \$40,000.

B. Section 3553(a) Factors

1. Nature and Circumstances of the Offense, History and Characteristics of the Defendant, and the Need for Just Punishment

Tax evasion is a serious crime, and the use of offshore accounts by U.S. taxpayers to evade their income tax obligations directly affects the ability of the Treasury to raise funds for government expenditures. In April 2016, the IRS estimated that for the years 2008-2010, the U.S. tax gap, which represented the total amount of U.S. taxes owed but not paid on time, was \$458 billion, despite an overall tax compliance rate among American taxpayers of 81.7%. *See* "Tax Gap Estimates for Tax Years 2008–2010," report by the IRS, *available at*: https://www.irs.gov/PUP/newsroom/tax%20gap%20estimates%20for%202008%20through%202010.pdf. The IRS found that these updated "estimates suggest that compliance is substantially unchanged since last estimated for [tax year] 2006." *Id.* at 2.

What sets Hyung Kim apart from many other seemingly similarly situated defendants, is the level and duration of the deception he employed to hide his assets from the IRS. For over a dozen years, the defendant employed a series of ever more aggressive schemes to conceal the windfall that he inherited. Kim utilized nine different accounts at five Swiss banks to hide his assets. For four of those accounts, the defendant used nominee entities, formed in Caribbean tax-haven countries, to add a further layer of protection. The defendant and his co-conspirator,

Paltzer, used one of those entities, Edraith Invest & Finance, to deceive a realtor and other third parties involved in the purchase of his home on Cape Cod. They went so far as to concoct a ruse whereby Kim and Paltzer exchanged emails wherein they pretended that Kim was renting the home from another family.

Kim had numerous opportunities to report his accounts and come into compliance. Each time, he chose to continue his criminal conduct. From 2004 through 2008, Kim filed FBARs on which he reported his ownership of certain accounts in South Korea. In each of those years, he had the opportunity to come clean about his Swiss accounts. He could have informed his U.S. return preparers about the Swiss accounts and sought their advice for properly reporting the ownership of the accounts and the income that he received, and pay the tax due and owing. Kim stayed silent.

In the same year that he filed his last, false FBAR, Paltzer, Kim's Swiss attorney, presented to him the option to close the accounts and bring the money to the United States.

Instead, Kim chose to burrow deeper into the darkness of offshore evasion. He moved his assets to a bank that touted itself as refusing to be "bullied" by a "foreign authority," such as U.S. law enforcement.

Kim kept the funds in Switzerland for almost three more years. He continued to conceal his accounts from his return preparer and never filed FBARs during those years. In 2011, Kim again had the option to come clean and report his offshore assets. Instead, he elected to spend down the assets. Through a series of messages hidden in packages mailed from the U.S. to his former banker in Switzerland, Kim arranged to close his account by using the remaining fund to buy yet more high-end jewelry.

Given the duration of the offense, the amounts involved, the defendant's knowledge of his duty to report his foreign financial accounts, and the myriad of schemes and lies that the defendant perpetrated, a sentence of incarceration is required in order to reflect the seriousness of the offense, to promote respect for the law, and to provide just punishment for the offense.

2. The Need for Deterrence

Over the past decade, the government endeavored to crack down on the use of foreign financial accounts by U.S. citizens seeking to evade the payment of their taxes. The foreign banks and institutions are more likely to aid and assist the ultra-high net worth individuals, like the defendant, to evade their taxes. Such foreign institutional assistance makes these crimes more difficult to detect, investigate and prosecute. Further, prosecutions involving offshore accounts such as this one require the government to commit significant investigative and prosecutorial resources, and the IRS typically detects the criminal conduct well after the offenses have been committed. A sentence of incarceration and a strong message of general deterrence in this case is necessary to ensure that U.S. taxpayers do not use foreign financial accounts to evade their taxes.

The government concedes that the defendant will pay a great financial price for his crimes. He has already remitted over \$14 million to the government as a civil penalty for his willful failure to report his foreign banks accounts. Nevertheless, the defendant should receive no mercy for paying over what amounts to slightly more than 7% of his current net worth. He had numerous opportunities to report his accounts, had access to seasoned professionals who knew how to do such reporting, and chose not do so. He has no one to blame but himself. Further, Kim would have owed the same civil penalty had he been audited, not prosecuted.

C. Fine

The Guidelines instruct that "[t]he court shall impose a fine in all cases, except where the defendant establishes that he is unable to pay and is not likely to become able to pay any fine.

U.S.S.G. § 5E1.2(a). The Presentence Report states that Kim's assets exceed \$200 million and he receives monthly cash flow of more than \$450,000. As such, the government recommends that the Court impose a substantial fine.

III. Restitution

Pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3663A, restitution is mandatory in this case, and the parties have agreed that the defendant should pay full restitution to the IRS. The government expects that by the time of sentencing the defendant will have filed amended federal and state income tax returns and directly paid over the tax due and owing as well as interest.

Nonetheless, the government respectfully requests that the Court order restitution to the IRS for the following years in the following amounts: 2003 – \$93,223; and 2009 – \$63,828.

IV. Conclusion

Based on the foregoing, and for the reasons stated in the United States' sealed filing, the United States submits that a final sentence should be imposed of nine (9) months of imprisonment, three (3) years of supervised release, an appropriate fine, and a \$100.00 special assessment.

Respectfully submitted,

Dana J. Boente United States Attorney

By: /s/

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on the 19th day of January, 2018, I electronically filed the foregoing Position of the United States With Respect to Sentencing with the Clerk of Court using the CM/ECF system which will send notification of such filing to all attorneys of record.

A copy has also been sent via email to:

Karen Riffle
Supervising United States Probation Officer
Karen Riffle@vaep.uscourts.gov

/s/

Mark F. Daly

Special Assistant United States Attorney

EXHIBIT G

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,)
v.) Crim. Action No. 17-0201-01 (ABJ)
PAUL J. MANAFORT, JR.,)
Defendant.)

ORDER

Defendant Paul J. Manafort, Jr. entered a plea of guilty in this case on September 14, 2018. The plea agreement [Dkt. # 422] provides:

Your client shall cooperate fully, truthfully, completely, and forthrightly with the Government

Plea Agreement ¶ 8.

Defendant agreed in paragraph 8(a) of the agreement to be debriefed; in paragraph 8(c) to testify at any proceedings, and in paragraph 8(f) that he "must at all times give complete, truthful, and accurate information and testimony, and must not commit, or attempt to commit, any further crimes." Paragraph 8 goes on to provide that defendant "shall testify fully, completely and truthfully before any and all Grand Juries" in the District of Columbia or elsewhere.

Paragraph 13 – "Breach of Agreement" provides:

Your client understands and agrees that, if after entering this Agreement, [he] fails specifically to perform or to fulfill completely each and every one of [his] obligations under this Agreement, or engages in any criminal activity prior to sentencing or during his cooperation . . . , [he] will have breached this Agreement.

Should it be judged by the Government in its sole discretion that the defendant has failed to cooperate fully, has intentionally given false, misleading or incomplete information or testimony, has committed or attempted to commit any further crimes, or has otherwise violated any provision of this agreement, the defendant will not be released from his pleas of guilty but the Government will be released from its obligations under the agreement, including (a) not to oppose

the downward adjustment [to the U.S. Sentencing Guidelines calculation] for acceptance of responsibility

Your client understands that the Government shall be required to prove a breach of this Agreement only by good faith.

The defendant accepted the plea agreement; the signed acceptance on last page states, "I fully understand this Agreement and agree to it without reservation. I do this voluntarily and of my own free will, intending to be legally bound." After the plea was entered, sentencing was deferred while the defendant's cooperation was ongoing.

On November 26, 2018, the parties informed the Court in a joint status report [Dkt. # 455] that it was the government's position that the defendant had breached the plea agreement by making false statements to the FBI and Office of Special Counsel ("OSC") and that it was time to set a sentencing date. The defendant disputed the government's characterization of the information he had provided and denied that he had breached the agreement, but he agreed that in light of the dispute, it was time to proceed to sentencing. Thereafter, the government was ordered to provide the Court with information concerning the alleged breach, a schedule was established for the defense to respond, and the following submissions were made a part of the record in the case:

December 7, 2018	Government's Submission in Support of its Breach Determination [Dkt. # 461] (Sealed); [Dkt. # 460] (Public)
January 8, 2019	Defendant's Response to the Government's Submission in Support of its Breach Determination [Dkt. # 470] (Sealed); [Dkt. # 472] (Public)
January 15, 2019	FBI Declaration in Support of the Government's Breach Determination with accompanying exhibits [Dkt # 477] (Sealed); [Dkt. # 476] (Public)
January 23, 2019	Defendant's Reply to the Declaration [Dkt. # 481] (Sealed); [Dkt. # 482] (Public)

The Court held a sealed hearing on February 4, 2019, and the parties each filed post-hearing submissions. *See* Def.'s Post-Hearing Mem. [Dkt. # 502] (Sealed), [Dkt. # 505] (Public); Government's Suppl. [Dkt. # 507] (Sealed).

It is a matter of public record that the Office of Special Counsel has alleged that the defendant made intentionally false statements to the FBI, the OSC, and/or the grand jury in connection with five matters: a payment made by Firm A to a law firm to pay a debt owed to the law firm by defendant Manafort; co-defendant Konstantin Kilimnik's role in the obstruction of justice conspiracy; the defendant's interactions and communications with Kilimnik; another Department of Justice investigation; and the defendant's contacts with the current administration after the election. The parties are agreed that it is the government's burden to show that there has been a breach of the plea agreement, but to be relieved of its obligations under the agreement, it must simply demonstrate that its determination was made in good faith. Plea Agreement ¶ 13.

In its January 8, 2019 response to the breach allegations, the defense stated that "given the highly deferential standard that applies to the Government's determination," Def.'s Resp. [Dkt. # 472] at 2, it was not challenging the assertion that the determination was made in good faith. And, in response to a question posed by the Court at a status hearing held on January 25, 2019, the defendant conceded that that the determination was made in good faith. Tr. of Hearing (Jan. 25, 2019) [Dkt. # 500] at 13.

In light of the defendant's concession, and based upon the Court's independent review of entire record, including: all of the pleadings listed above and the supporting exhibits; the facts and arguments placed on the record at the hearing held on February 4, 2019; and the post-hearing submissions, the Court ruled at the hearing held on February 13, 2019 that the Office of Special Counsel made its determination that the defendant made false statements and thereby breached the plea agreement in good faith. Therefore, the Office of Special Counsel is no longer bound by its obligations under the plea agreement, including its promise to support a reduction of the offense level in the calculation of the U.S. Sentencing Guidelines for acceptance of responsibility.

But that is not the only question before the Court to decide. The question remains whether the defendant made intentionally false statements in connection with the five matters that have been identified by the Office of Special Counsel. The answer bears upon the applicability of certain provisions of the Sentencing Guidelines, in particular, the adjustment for acceptance of responsibility, and it bears more generally on the Court's assessment of the factors set forth in the sentencing statute, 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a). The parties are agreed that the government is bound to prove facts that bear on the application of the Guidelines by a preponderance of the evidence.

Based upon its consideration of the entire record and the arguments of counsel at the hearing of February 4, 2019, for the reasons stated on the record at the continuation of the sealed hearing on February 13, 2019, the Court made the following additional findings:

- I. OSC has established by a preponderance of the evidence that defendant intentionally made false statements to the FBI, the OSC, and the grand jury concerning the payment by Firm A to the law firm, a matter that was material to the investigation. *See United States v. Moore*, 612 F.3d 698, 701 (D.C. Cir. 2010).
- II. OSC has failed to establish by a preponderance of the evidence that on October 16, 2018, defendant intentionally made false statements concerning Kilimnik's role in the obstruction of justice conspiracy.
- III. OSC has established by a preponderance of the evidence that the defendant intentionally made multiple false statements to the FBI, the OSC, and the grand jury concerning matters that were material to the investigation: his interactions and communications with Kilimnik.
- IV. OSC has established by a preponderance of the evidence that on October 5, 2018, the defendant intentionally made false statements that were material to another DOJ investigation.

V. OSC has failed to establish by a preponderance of the evidence that on October 16, 2018, defendant intentionally made a false statement concerning his contacts with the administration.

This order does not address the question of whether the defendant will receive credit for his acceptance of responsibility in connection with the calculation of the Sentencing Guidelines or how any other Guideline provision will apply to this case. Those issues, which depend on the consideration of a number of additional factors, will be determined at sentencing, after the Presentence Investigation Report has been completed, the parties have filed their memoranda in aid of sentencing, and the Court has heard argument.

The Court reporter is hereby ORDERED to provide a copy of the sealed transcript of today's hearing to the parties by 12:00 noon on February 14, 2019, and the parties must inform the Court of any redactions that must to be made before the transcript can be released no later than 11:00 a.m. on February 15, 2019.

SO ORDERED.

AMY BERMAN JACKSON United States District Judge

DATE: February 13, 2019

ATTACHMENT F

REDACTED

Attachment G - Index of Exhibits

Proposed Trial Exhibits

Exhibit No.	Description
434	Chart, Foreign Transfers to United States Accounts of Entities Performing Work in the United States
436	Chart, FARA Related Payments By Consultant
437	Chart, Payments from Foreign Entities to Entities Performing Work in the United States
438	Chart, False and Misleading Foreign Agents Registration Act Statements in Counts 4 and 5
441	Chart, Government Relations Activity & Government Relations Activity: Paul Manafort
442	Chart, Public Relations Activity
443	Chart, Outreach to
444	Chart, Skadden Report
448	Chart, Legislation
449	Chart, Legislation: Durbin Resolution
504	Memo, June 27, 2012, "CREATION OF A SUPER VIP GROUP"
505	Memo, July 3, 2012, P. Manafort to , et. al., "Program to Conduct Briefings of
	Embassies, Media and NGOs"
569	Memo, Apr. 8, 2012, PJM to VFY, "AC Project Update"
695	Memo, Mar. 23, 2013, P. Manafort to Update", "US Consultants Activity – Weekly Update"
833	Email, Sept. 28, 2012, to Re Fw: eyes only
852	Email, May 17, 2013, to to Re DC notes
910	Excerpt of DOJ Section 5 Inspection File, Registration No. 3600 Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly
	Public Affairs Company
926	FARA Registration Statement, DMP International, LLC (Registration No. 6440), June 27, 2017
941	FARA Registration Statement, P. Manafort (Registration No. 3594), June 1, 1984
945	FARA Supplemental Statement, P. Manafort (Registration No. 3594), July 3, 1985
949	FARA Registration Amendment, P. Manafort (Registration No. 3594), June 26, 1986
1028	Exhibits A and B to FARA Registration Statement;
1237	Email, Nov. 14, 2012, R. Gates to
1307	Memo, Aug. 1, 2012, P. Manafort to , "SA Report – Media Plan"
1308	Email, Sept. 19, 2012, to R. Gates, P. Manafort, urgent request ON IT
1349	Letter, May 4, 2012, "ECFMU"
1351	Email, May 18, 2012, to , Re Ukraine – What we've been up to
1357	Email, June 22, 2012, to to RefW: RAPSI.com: U.S. attorneys in ECHR under Tymoshenko case cost Ukraine \$12,5k
1486	Calendar Record, Mar. 19, 2013, "Dinner/Manafort, "Capitol Hill Club" / reservation under
1608	Email, May 4, 2012, to Re Send to Rick?
1763	Email, Nov. 29, 2012, to Re Assessment
1937	Email, Nov. 19, 2013, to to , Re Durbin
	Resolution
2012	Memo, Apr. 5, 2012, to "Projects and Plans"
2013	Email, Apr. 11, 2012, to A. van der Zwaan, Re FW Tomorrow – Friday 4/6
2069	Email, Aug. 9, 2012, to Re Kyiv Post Editorial: Skadden Stink

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 2 of 577

Exhibit No.	Description
2078	Email, Aug. 30, 2012, A. van der Zwaan to , et. al., Re Project 2
2079	Email, Aug. 30, 2012, to Re Project 2
2106	Email, Nov. 28, 2012, to P. Manafort, Re 's Memo

Miscellaneous Exhibits

Date	Description
May 27, 1987	Excerpt of DOJ Section 5 Inspection file, Registration No. 3594 Paul J. Manafort
Feb. 1, 2018	R. Gates 302
Aug. 10, 2018	302

EXHIBIT 434

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 4 of 577

Foreign Transfers to United States Accounts of Entities Performing Work in the United States

Payee	Date	Payer	Originating Bank Account	Country of Origin	Country of Destination	Amount
	8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 270,000.00
	10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 90,000.00
	11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 120,000.00
	11/20/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 182,968.07
	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 25,000.00
	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Hellenic Bank Account -2501	Cyprus	US	\$ 90,000.00
	9/18/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -1840	SVG*	US	\$ 135,937.37
	10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 167,689.40
	3/28/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 135,639.65
	4/3/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 82,979.93
Total Transfer	rs .					\$ 1,300,214.42
	5/30/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 130,000.00
	8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 195,000.00
	10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 130,000.00
	11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 50,000.00
	12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -0480	Cyprus	US	\$ 54,649.51
	3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Hellenic Bank Account -2501	Cyprus	US	\$ 150,000.00
	9/3/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 175,857.51
	10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 195,857.51
	3/12/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 26,891.78
	3/21/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 138,026.00
	4/15/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 4,728.81
	4/25/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	Loyal Bank Limited Account -4978	SVG*	US	\$ 4,739.23
Total Transfers						\$ 1,255,750.35
	4/19/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$ 2,000,000.00
	5/30/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$ 1,000,000.00
	7/13/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Bank of Cyprus Account -7412	Cyprus	US	\$ 1,000,000.00
Total	Transfers					\$ 4,000,000.00
Total Transfers						\$ 6,555,964.77



EXHIBIT 436

Summary of Payments to Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP

Date	Payer Country of Origin			Amount
4/19/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	2,000,000.00
5/30/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	1,000,000.00
7/13/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	1,000,000.00
Total Pa	Total Payments to Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP:			

Date	Payer	Country of Orig	gin	Amount
5/30/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	141,120.00
6/22/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	140,895.00
7/13/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	139,275.00
8/16/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	141,210.00
9/17/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	145,919.00 **
10/17/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	177,007.00 **
11/20/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	143,137.00 **
	Total Payments to		: \$	1,028,563.00

^{**}For purposes of this analysis, Euro transactions were converted to US Dollars on the date of the transaction per the foreign bank records using historical daily exchange rates per https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter.

Date	Payer	Country of Origin	1	Amount
8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	270,000.00
10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	90,000.00
11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	120,000.00
11/20/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	182,968.07
12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	25,000.00
3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	90,000.00
9/18/2013	Global Endeavour Inc.	SVG*	\$	135,937.37
10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	167,689.40
3/28/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	135,639.65
4/3/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	82,979.93
	Total Payments to		: \$	1,300,214.42

^{*}SVG - Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Date	Payer Country of Origin		gin	Amount
5/30/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	130,000.00
8/2/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	195,000.00
10/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	130,000.00
11/16/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	50,000.00
12/21/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	54,649.51
3/15/2013	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	150,000.00
9/3/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	175,857.51
10/31/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	195,857.51
3/12/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	26,891.78
3/21/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	138,026.00 **
4/15/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	4,728.81
4/25/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	4,739.23
	Total Paymen	its to	: \$	1,255,750.35

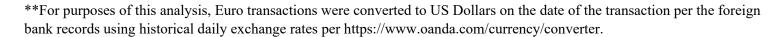
^{*}SVG - Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

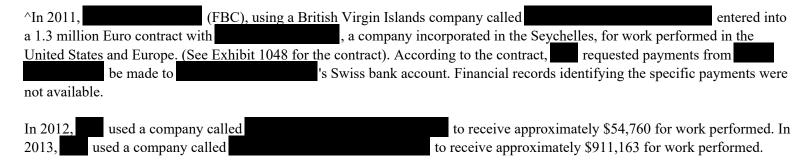
^{**}For purposes of this analysis, Euro transactions were converted to US Dollars on the date of the transaction per the foreign bank records using historical daily exchange rates per https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter.

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Date	Payer Country of Origin			Amount	
12/5/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	54,760.50 *	**
3/6/2013	Marziola Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$	603,520.00	
8/27/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	307,643.00 *	**
	Total Payments to		: \$	965,923.50	

^{*}SVG - Saint Vincent and the Grenadines





Date	Payer	Country of Origi	in	Amount	
9/10/2012	Bletilla Ventures Limited	Cyprus	\$	1,191,610.00	**
11/30/2012	Black Sea View Limited	Cyprus	\$	34,641.90	**
3/6/2013	Marziola Holdings Limited	Cyprus	\$	616,640.00	
8/27/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	936,306.00	**
8/27/2013	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	45,170.70	**
4/14/2014	Jeunet Ltd.	SVG*	\$	24,981.00	**
	Total Payments to		\$	2,849,349.60	_

^{*}SVG - Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

^{**}For purposes of this analysis, Euro transactions were converted to US Dollars on the date of the transaction per the foreign bank records using historical daily exchange rates per https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter.

EXHIBIT 437

Payments from Foreign Entities to Entities Performing Work in the United States

Entity	Time Period	Total Payments	
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP	April 2012 - July 2012	\$	4,000,000.00
*	September 2012 - April 2014	\$	2,849,349.60
	August 2012 - April 2014	\$	1,300,214.42
*	May 2012 - April 2014	\$	1,255,750.35
*	May 2012 - November 2012	\$	1,028,563.00
*^	December 2012 - August 2013	\$	965,923.50
Total Payments		\$	11,399,800.87

^{*}For purposes of this analysis, Euro transactions were converted to US Dollars on the date of the transaction per the foreign bank records using historical daily exchange rates per https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter.

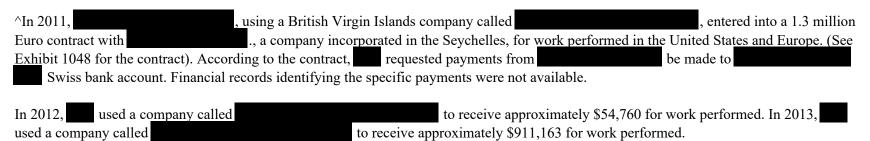


EXHIBIT 438

Documents in Manafort's Possession Beyond DMI's Thirty-Day Retention Policy							
Date	Evidence	Participants	Exhibit	Source	Metadata		
6/25/2012	Manafort memo to Gates, Kilimnik and regarding "Going on Offense - Ukraine Action Plan for Europe and US."	Manafort, Gates, Kilimnik and	503	Manafort 4182 Subpoena Return (also have under diff BIDMAS # with Metadata)	Author and Last Save: Manafort		
7/3/2012	Manafort memo to and others regarding "Program to Conduct Briefings of Embassies, Media and NGOS."	Manafort, and other Ukrainians	505	Manafort 4182 Subpoena Return	NA		
10/9/2012	Memo regarding "Observer Group Strategy Team."		517	Manafort 4182 Subpoena Return	NA		
2/20/2010	Manafort memo to Yanukovych regarding "Launch of Public Affairs Plan."	Manafort, Yanukovych	532	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Manafort		

False and Misleading Foreign Agents Registration Act Statements in Counts 4 and 5 Documents in Manafort's Possession Beyond DMI's Thirty-Day Retention Policy **Date Evidence Participants Exhibit** Source Metadata 6/18/2010 Manafort memo to Yanukovych Manafort, 539 Manafort 4182 Author and regarding Update on Key Yanukovych Subpoena Return Last Save: Policy Initiatives. Manafort 3/2/2011 Manafort memo to Manafort 4182 Manafort, 543 NA regarding " call today -Lyovochkin Subpoena Return News from Washington." Manafort 1B76 (G | Last Saved: 10/11/2011 Manafort memo to Manafort, 550 regarding consulting payments. drive slim) Manafort Manafort Condo Search 9/24/2012 Manafort, Manafort 1B85 Last Saved: Manafort memo to 594 Yanukovych regarding "Our Yanukovych (thumb drive) Manafort **Current Washington Strategy** Manafort Condo and Post Elections Plan." Search

False and Misleading Foreign Agents Registration Act Statements in Counts 4 and 5							
Documents in Manafort's Possession Beyond DMI's Thirty-Day Retention Policy							
Date	Evidence	Participants	Exhibit	Source	Metadata		
1/15/2013	Manafort created memo titled "VY Agenda" with references to "US Update" - and back channel.	Manafort	602	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Manafort		
2/4/2013	Manafort memo to regarding "US Government Activity."	Manafort, Yanukovych, Gates	604	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Gates		
2/21/2013	Manafort memo to regarding "Hapsburg – Update" in the U.S.	Manafort, Yanukovych	606	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Last Saved: Manafort		
3/21/2013	Manafort created memo titled "Gates Agenda."	Manafort	613	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Manafort		

	alse and Misleading Foreign Age				
	Documents in Manafort's Posses	sion Beyond Di	VII's Thirt	y-Day Retention P	olicy
Date	Evidence	Participants	Exhibit	Source	Metadata
4/22/2013	Manafort memo to Yanukovych regarding "US Consultants – Quarterly Report."	Manafort, Yanukovych, Gates	616	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Last Saved: Manafort
4/25/2013	Manafort memo to regarding summary of accounts overdue to include Hapsburg, U.S. lobbying and PR.	Manafort, Yanukovych	617	Manafort 1B96 (iomega portable hard drive) - Manafort Condo Search	Author: Manafort
2/1/2013	Manafort created memo titled "RG TO DO."	Manafort	690	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Manafort
2/24/2013	Manafort memo to regarding Hapsburg activitiy updates in the U.S.	Manafort,	691	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Manafort

	alse and Misleading Foreign Age Documents in Manafort's Posses				
Date 2/26/2013	Evidence Manafort memo to regarding US visit" and stated "We need to increase the frequency of key members from the GoU coming to the US."	Participants Manafort, Gates	Exhibit 692	Source Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Metadata Author and Last Save: Manafort
3/16/2013	Manafort memo to regarding "Trip to Washington- based on an agenda we arranged to continue our strategy of repositioning key political and policy issues between the GoU and the USG."	Manafort, Gates	694	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Manafort
3/23/2013	Manafort memo to "US Consultants Activity – Weekly Update."	Manafort, Gates	695		Last Saved: Manafort

	Documents in Manafort's Possession Beyond DMI's Thirty-Day Retention Policy									
Date	Evidence	Participants	Exhibit	Source	Metadata					
4/7/2013	Manafort memo to regarding "Hapsburg – April/May Plan."	Manafort,	696	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Manafort					
4/21/2013	Manafort memo to regarding "US consultant activity for the week" to include GR and PR.	Manafort, Gates	697	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Last Saved: Manafort					
5/8/2013	Memo titled Meeting Summaries -		703	Manafort IB78 (Western Digital external hard drive) - Manafort Condo Search	NA					

	Documents in Manafort's Posses	ssion Beyond D	MI's Thirt	y-Day Retention Po	olicy
Date	Evidence	Participants	Exhibit	Source	Metadata
5/13/2013	Manafort memo to titled Washington, DC Visits.	Manafort, and others	705	Manafort IB78 (Western Digital external hard drive) - Manafort Condo Search	Author and Last Save: Gates
6/9/2013	Manafort memo to titled "Trip Report."	Manafort,	706	Manafort 1B85 (thumb drive) Manafort Condo Search	Last Saved: Manafort
6/17/2013	Manafort memo to titled "Ledger Update."	Manafort,	707	Manafort IB78 (Western Digital external hard drive) - Manafort Condo Search	Last Saved: Manafort

False and Misleading Foreign Agents Registration Act Statements in Counts 4 and 5 Documents in Manafort's Possession Beyond DMI's Thirty-Day Retention Policy **Evidence Date Participants** Exhibit Source Metadata 7/10/2013 Manafort memo to Manafort, 708 Manafort IB78 Last Saved: titled "Hapsburg and US." (Western Digital Manafort external hard drive) - Manafort Condo Search Manafort memo to Manafort, Manafort 1B85 Author and 7/22/2014 710 titled "Wire Payments." (thumb drive) Last Save: Manafort Condo Manafort Search 4/25/2013 Manafort created memo titled " Manafort 712 Manafort 1B85 Author and Kyiv Agenda, Week of April (thumb drive) Last Save: 23." Manafort Condo Manafort Search Manafort No Date Memo titled PJM Presentation 713 Manafort Storage NA to Weekly Campaign Locker Search Management Meeting.

	Documents in Manafort's Poss	y-Day Retention	Policy		
Date	Evidence	Participants	Exhibit	Source	Metadata
3/5/2013	Calendar invite from Manafort for dinner with Congressman or 3/19/13.	, Gates	1486	Manafort Search	NA

EXHIBIT 441

			Govern	ment Relati	ons Activity		
Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Sender(s)/ Recipient(s)	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibi
5/2/2005	С	DMP	From: PJM To: CC:	From	Memo summarizing Manafort's meeting with the coordinator of US-Ukraine policy at the National Security Council	National Security Council	500
6/18/2005	P	-	-	Author/Last Saved	Memo titled <i>Basel Presentation</i> , detailing a programatic strategy based upon a direct mandate provided by . The three programs identified are political efforts, government lobbying, and legal efforts.	US and European Governments (USG Entities: State Department; White House; National Security Council; Commerce Department; AID; World Bank)	520
5/23/2005	P	; DMP	From: Paul J. Manafort, To: Author/Last Saved:	From	Memo, with the subject line "Political, Lobbying and Legal Program for CIS", provides an update on the project's success within Ukraine and outlines a strategy for CIS countries	White House; Capitol Hill; US State Department	521
6/25/2005	P	-	-	Author/Last Saved	Memo to	White House; National Security Council; Office of the VP; State Department; Energy Department; Commerce Department; Interior Department; Congress (bi-partisan outreach to leaders in the House and Senate; outreach to relevant committees)	522

			Governi	ment Relati	ons Activity		
Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Sender(s)/ Recipi <u>ent(</u> s)	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
8/10/2005	P	-	From: To: Author:	Last Saved	Memo	National Security Council; State Department; Treasury Department; Commerce Department; SSCI; HPSCI	523
2/16/2010	P; C	DMP	From: PJM To: VFY	Author/Last Saved	Email identifying recipients who received a financial bonus from Manafort, for VFY's consideration for an additional bonus from VFY. One recipient listed is "Main US Lobbyist".	Main US Lobbyist	531
2/20/2010	P; C	DMP	From: Paul J. Manafort To: President Victor Yanukovich	Author	Memo defines a plan to manage the strategy, public relations and international affairs for President Yanukovich. Manafort references previously managing a Government Relations program for VFY, that Manafort personally created and paid for.	Diplomatic and Political Communities within the US	532
4/9/2010	P	DMP	From: PJM To: VFY	From	Memo to VFY regarding VFY's upcoming trip to the US, which includes talking points for a meeting with	US Presidential Administration; US Treasury; World Bank	536

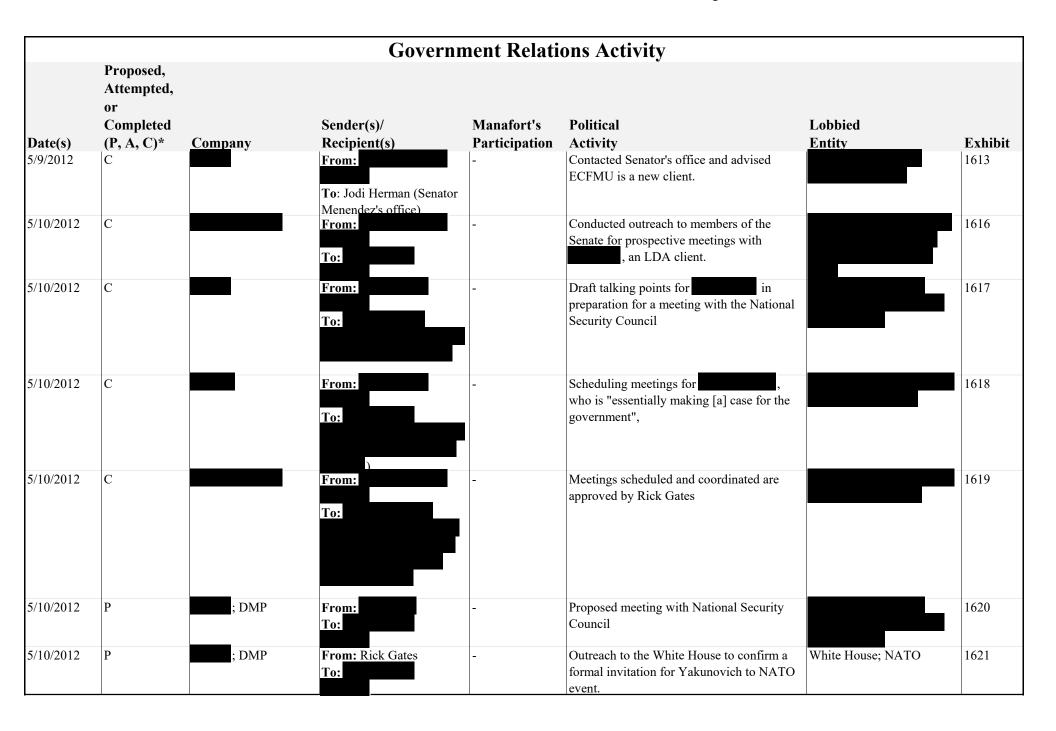
			Governn	nent Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or				·		
D (()	Completed	G	Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	5 10 0
Date(s) 6/18/2010	(P, A, C)* P; C	Company DMP	Recipient(s) From: Paul J. Manafort To: President Victor Yanukovich	From; Author/Last Saved	Activity Memo to VFY offering thanks for a financial bonus VFY sent, providing updates on Manafort's meetings with USG entities re: IMF deal, and talking points for a future meeting between VFY and	Entity US Department of Treasury, National Security Council	Exhibit 539
3/2/2011	P	DMP	From: PJM To:	From	Email providing talking points for a scheduled call between VFY and	White House Administration	543

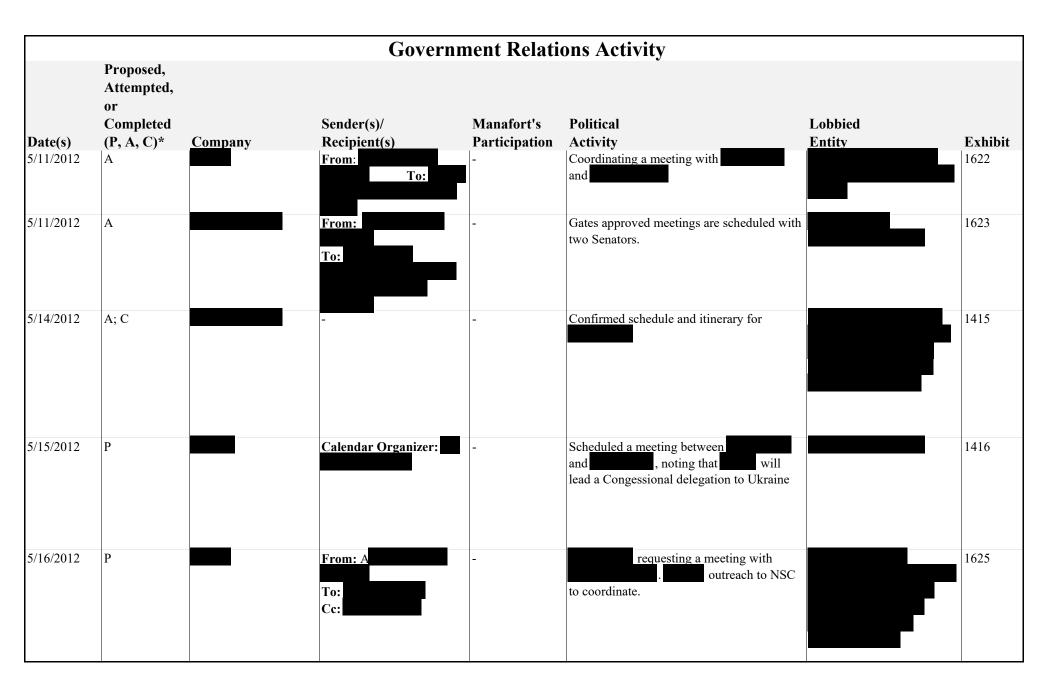
			Governn	nent Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sandan(a)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Sender(s)/ Recip <u>ient(s)</u>	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
9/9/2011	P	; DMP	From To: Paul Manafort Cc: Konstantin Kilimnik,	То	Arranging a meeting for a Ukrainian delegation with senior-level Hill staffers and foreign policy scholars and editors		1072
10/16/2011	С	-	From: K. Kilimnik To: , two (2) other recipients	Author/Last Saved	Memo from to VFY with a readout of meetings and phone calls Manafort has had regarding Tymoshenko.	"Washington" - entities are not further specified	551

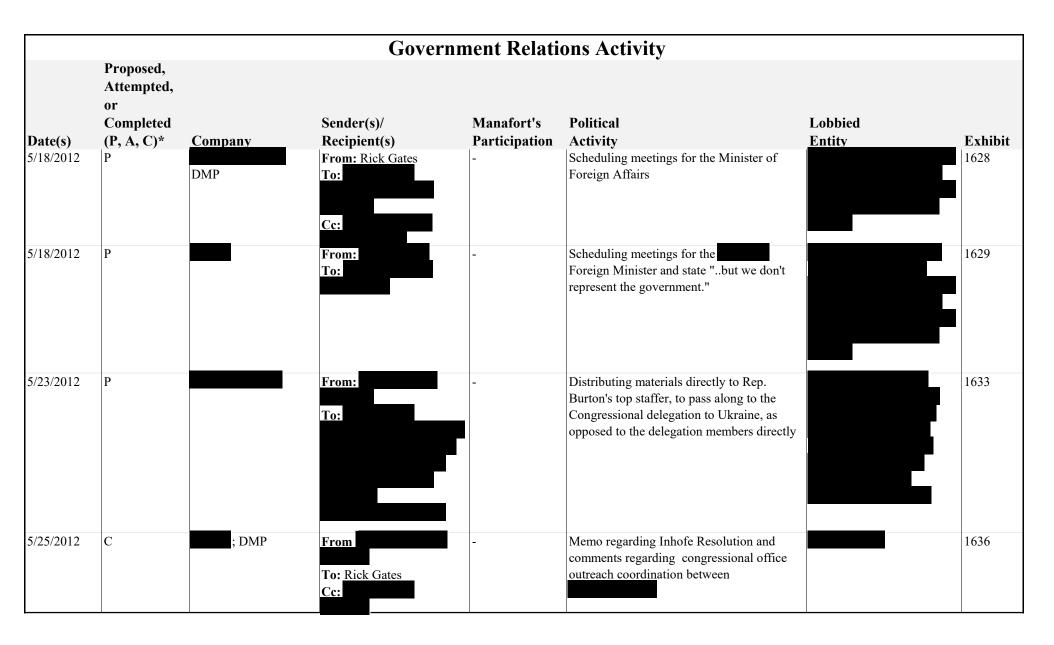
			Governn	nent Relati	ons Activity		
Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Sender(s)/ Recipient(s)	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
3/6/2012	P	; DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Cc:	·	Arranging meetings with the National Security Council for Prime Minister (PM) 's upcoming visit and identifying other persons of interest for the PM to meet.	(White House); (White House); Potential meetings:	1935
3/13/2012	С	DMP	From: Konstanin Kilimnik To: Paul Manafort Last Saved: Konstantin Kilimnik	Author	Memo to VFY about contact with the European and US government regarding Tymosheno	National Security Council	563

			Governn	nent Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
4/5/2012	P	Podesta	From: To Ce:	-	A strategic outline identifying members of Congress for efforts of neutralization or positive engagement regarding policy toward Ukraine	House/Senate Foreign Affairs Committee;	1581
4/10/2012	P	DMP	From: Konstantin Kilimnik To: Paul Manafort	с То	Kilimnik has a called scheduled with and has requested weekly updates regarding lobbying, PR, and GR activities.	-	567
4/11/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: K. Kilimnik; Rick Gates	From	Email chain discussing providing an update to re: and and Provides guidance to include activities.	-	568

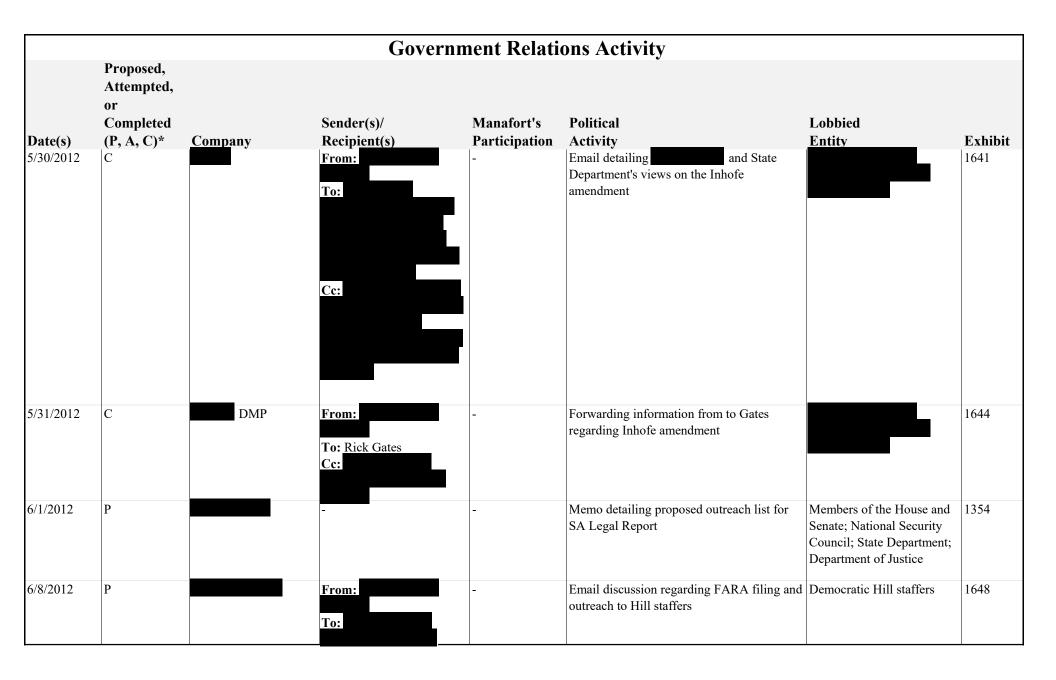
			Governn	nent Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or				v		
	Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
4/11/2012	P	DMP	(Email) From: Konstantin Kilimnik (Email) To: Two (2) other Russian recipients	From	Update on the public affairs and government relations strategy. There is a proposal for a US Congressional delegation to Ukraine.	US Congressional members	569
		Divil	(Memo) From: PJM (Memo) To: VFY Author/Last saved: Rick Gates				
4/20/2012	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates is requesting a strategic plan, to include tactical items, in preparation for a meeting scheduled with "the top guy[.]"	-	1591
4/20/2012	P		From: To: Cc:	-	Memo titled GR Targets	Congress; Administration	1592
5/9/2012	P	DMP	From: To: Rick Gates;	-	Removing ECFMU Facebook content referencing Tymoshenko in order to further engagement with Senate staffers		1612





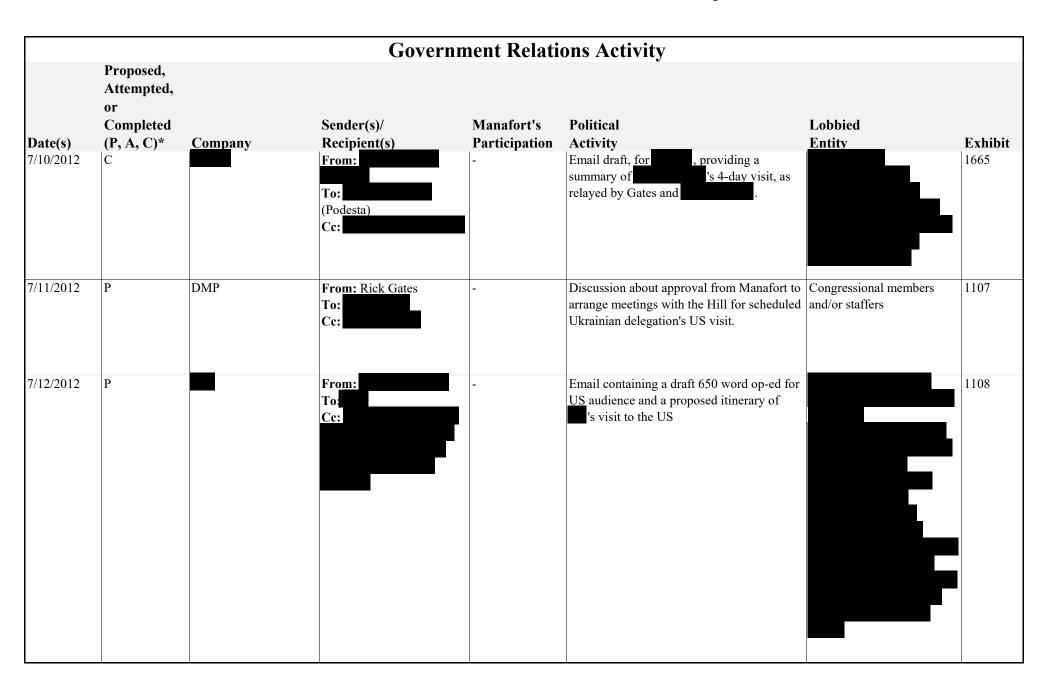


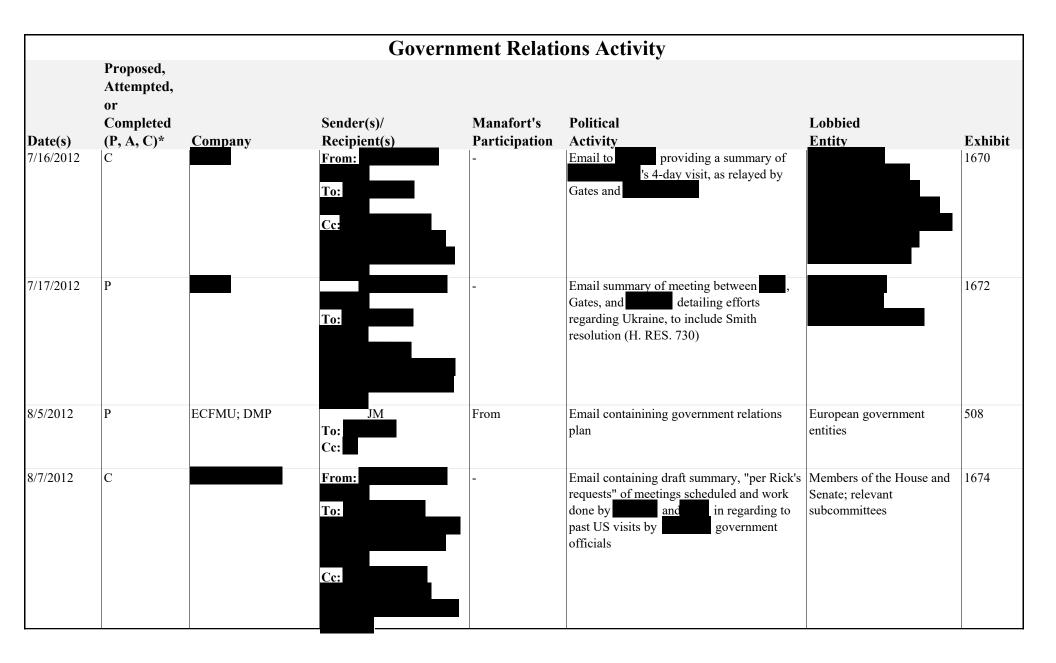
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	Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	
Date(s)	$(P, A, C)^*$	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
5/30/2012	P		From: To: Cc:		Outreach to Congress regarding the Inhofe amendment, following a meeting with Gates discussing Ukraine.	Republican Senators; Republican Representatives; State Department	1638
5/30/2012	С		From: To:	-	Email to Foreign Affairs committee staffer, as a representative of the staffer, regarding the Inhofe amendment		1639
5/30/2012	С		From: To: Ce:	-	Identified contact regarding Inhofe amendment		1640

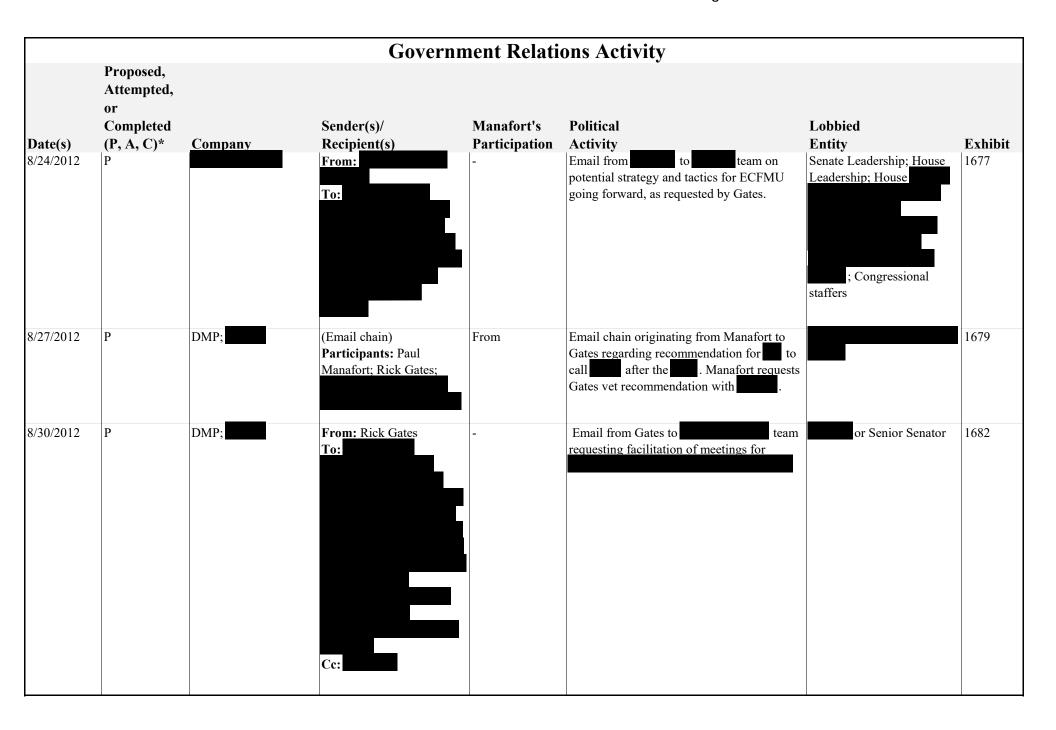


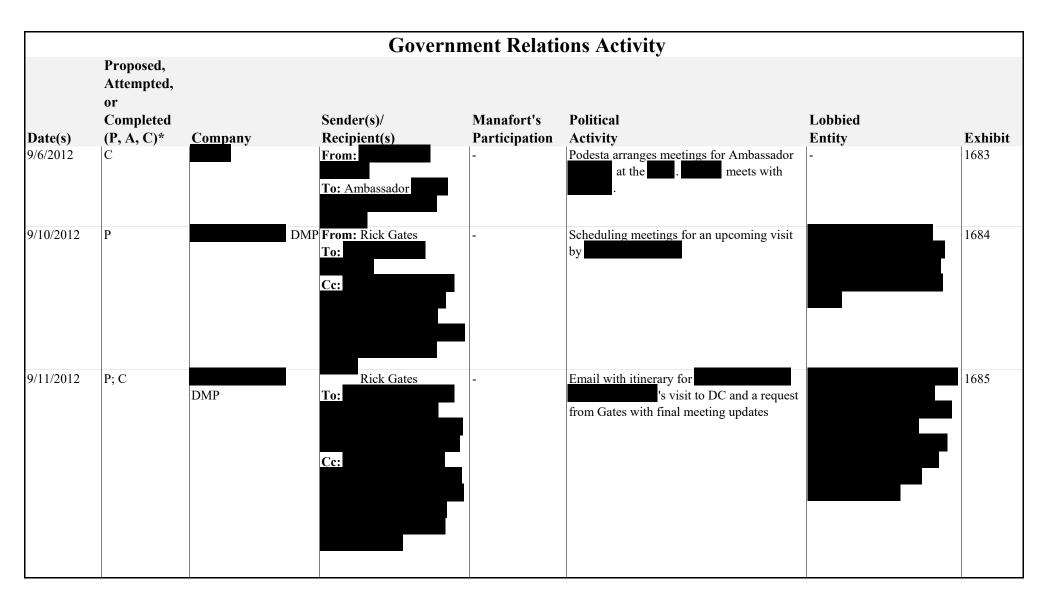
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	Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
6/8/2012	P		From: To:	-	Continued discussions regarding FARA filing and outreach to Hill staffers	Democratic Hill staffers	1649
6/11/2012	P		Calendar Organizer: Attendees:	-	Ukraine/ECFMU messaging meeting scheduled and includes the following attached documents: ECFMU Talking Points; UKR Hill Outreach; Centre Q A V2; ECFMU Launches US Allies Project; ECFMU Website Changes	Senate/House Committees on Foreign Affairs	1419
6/12/2012	P		From: To:	-	Summary of call about Ukraine with Rick Gates, which addresses FARA, meeting with an Ambassador, and outreach for Inhofe/Durbin resolutions	Congress regarding Inhofe and Durbin resolutions	1652
6/13/2012	P		From: To:	-	Email regarding FARA and identifying Republican staffers	Hill staffers (Republican and Democratic)	1653
6/19/2012	P		From: To: Cc:	- 1	Coordinating meetings for and working with Gates to draft an op-ed for the President regarding the EURO 2012 soccer championship.	White House; Capitol Hill	1655
6/22/2012	P		r Organizer:	1	Meeting scheduled re: Inhofe resolution		1423

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Date(s) 6/25/2012	(P, A, C)*	DMP	Recipient(s) From: PJM To: RG; KK;	Participation From	Activity Memo from Manafort proposing a strategy to go on offense against criticism of the Ukrainian government. Gates will direct the collaborative government relations outreach plan.	Entity "western governments" (entities not specified)	Exhibit 503
6/25/2012	P		Calendar Organizer: Attendees:	-	Meeting scheduled with House staffers as representatives of		1424
7/2/2012	С		From: To:	-	Email conversation about a release from ECFMU stating that provides information to Ukraine's elected officials. writes, "We do?". responds, "Definitely. 24-7."	"American government" (entities not specified)	1659
7/8/2012	P	; DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Referring to a letter from Yakunovich to regarding Tymoshenko, Gates requests to talk to	White House	1663
7/10/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: Rick Gates	From	Memo outlining key talking points by Ukrainian politician, during 's upcoming visit to the US	House; Senate (Both per 's itinerary)	506



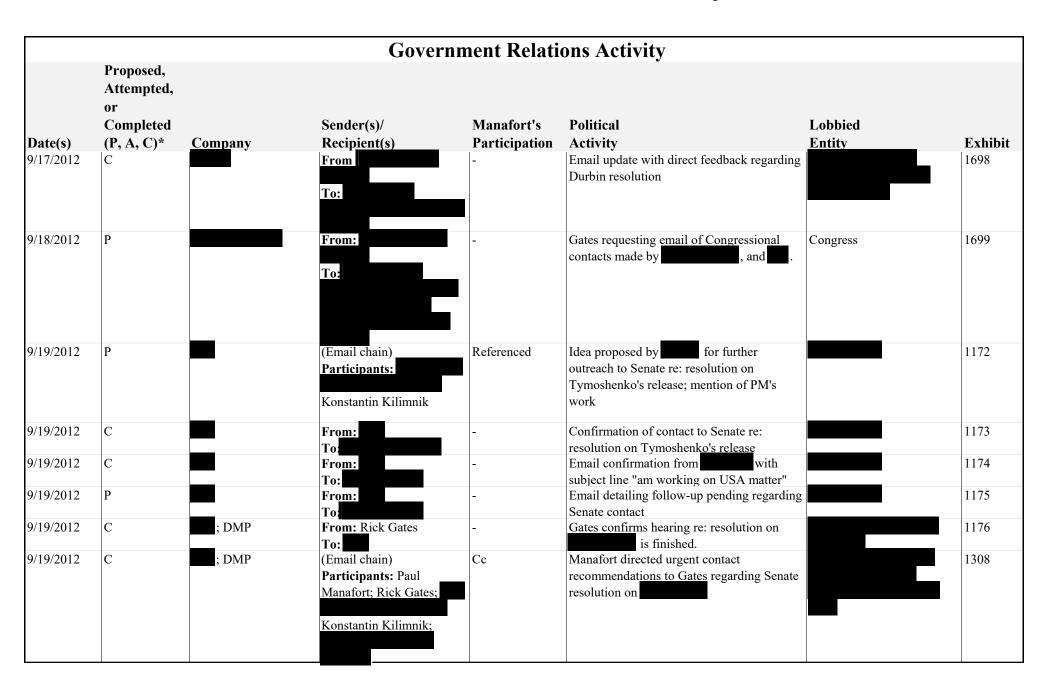


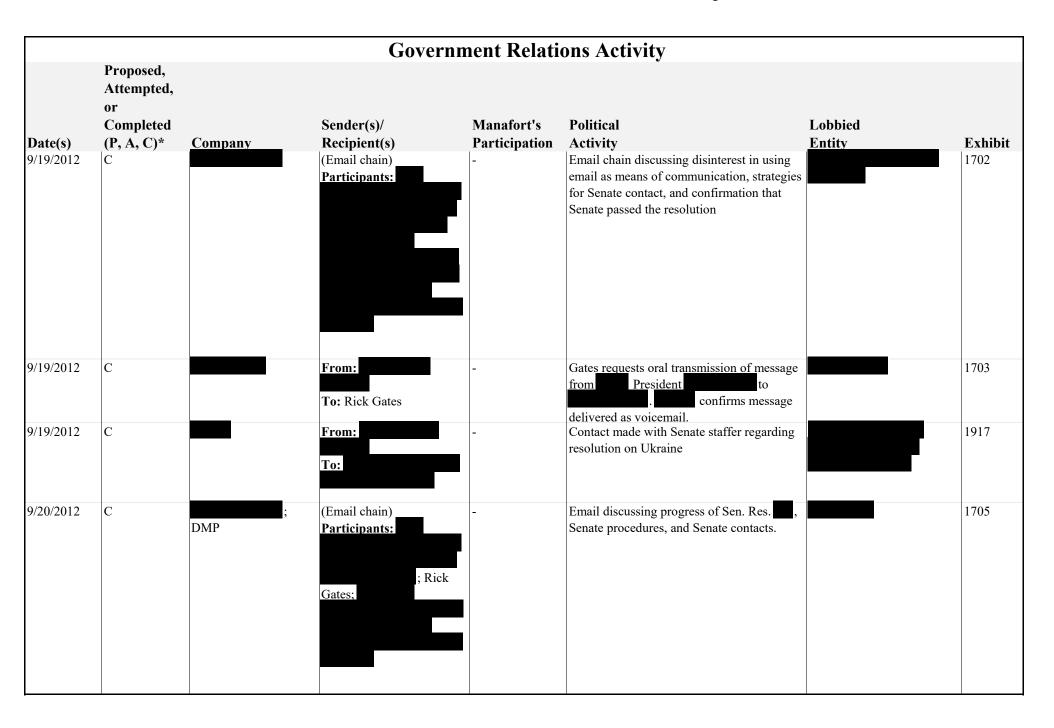


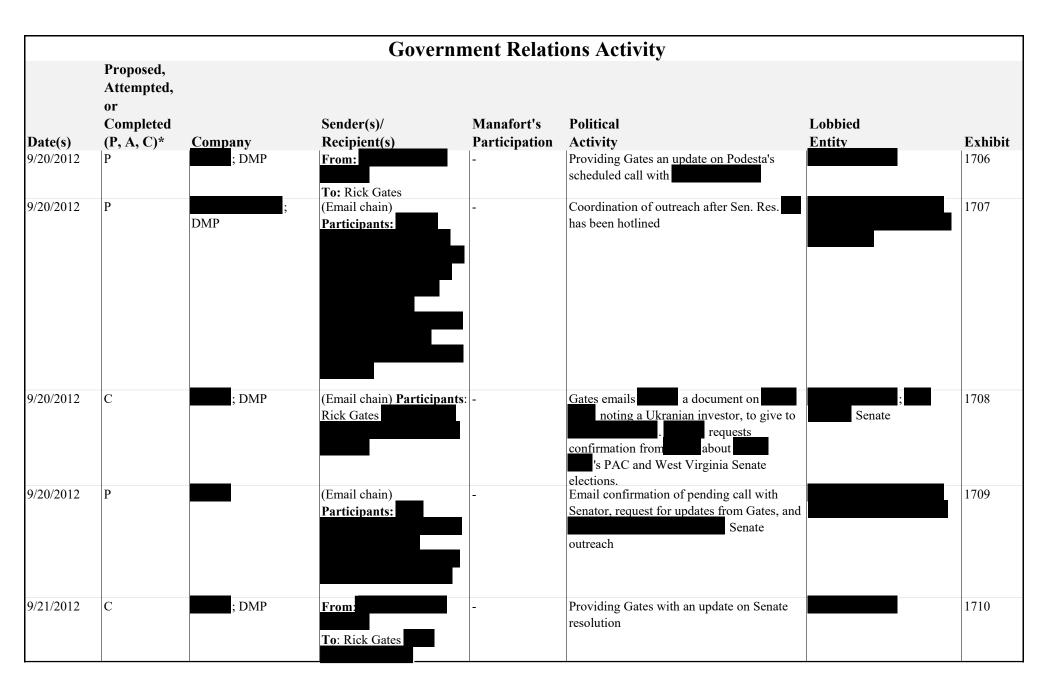


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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
9/13/2012	P	ECFMU;	To: (ECFMU); (ECFMU) Cc:	-	Email containing draft itinerary of scheduled meetings for 's visit'	Human Rights Commission; Helsinki Commission; Senate Foreign Relations Committee; House Foreign Affairs Committee; Congressional Ukranian Caucus - Senior Staff	1688
9/13/2012	С	ECFMU;	From: (ECFMU) To: Cc: (ECFMU)	-	Request for draft itinerary for visit	Human Rights Commission; Helsinki Commission; Senate Foreign Relations Committee; House Foreign Affairs Committee; Congressional Ukranian Caucus - Senior Staff	1689
9/14/2012	P	DMP;	From: To: Rick Gates; Cc:	-	Email discussing strategy to connect with Senators opposed to the Senate Resolution (re: release of	Senate;	1691
9/14/2012	С		To:	-	Outreach to Senate staffer regarding Senate Resolution (re: release of		1692

			Governr	nent Relati	ons Activity		
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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
9/15/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: Rick Gates Cc: Konstanin Kilimnik	From; Author/Last Saved	Memo from Manafort advising aggressive short term strategy plan titled <i>Pre-Election Lobby Plan</i>		589
						; State Department	
9/17/2012	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Cc:	-	Gates delegates taskings for outreach to House and Senate members regarding Inhofe and Smith resolution		1695
9/17/2012	P	; DMP	(Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates;	-	Providing Gates updates on House/Senate resolutions against Ukraine in preparation for Manafort's meeting with the President. confirms clearance to discuss pending report.		1696
9/17/2012	С	; DMP	From: To: Rick Gates; Cc:		Email update to Gates on Inhofe/Durbin resolution	staffers	1697





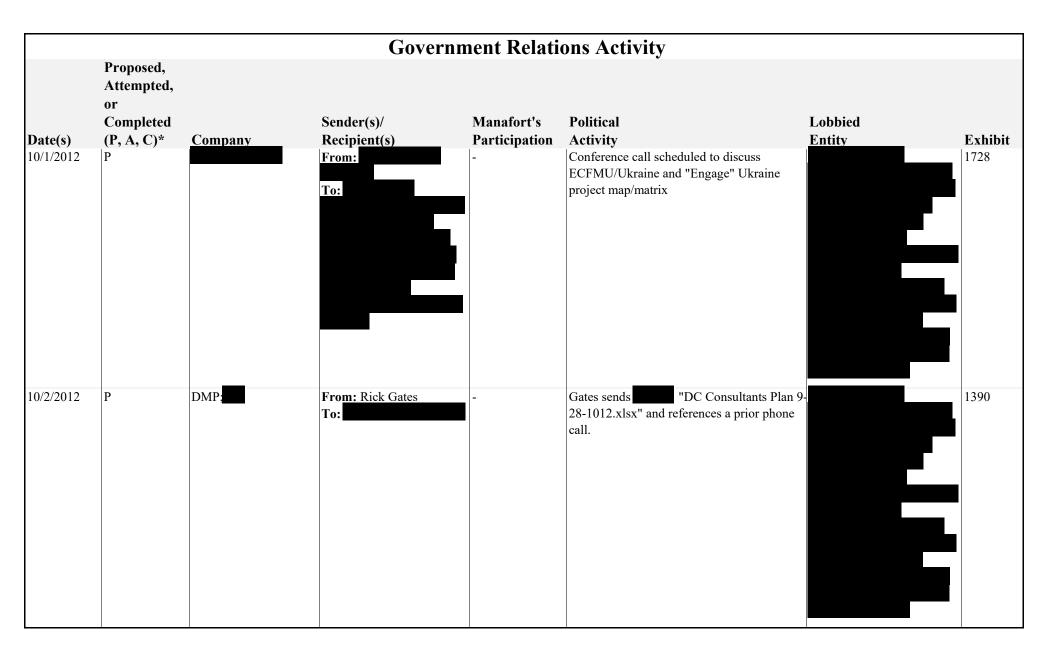


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Date(s) 9/21/2012	(P, A, C)*	Company ; DMP;	Recipient(s) (Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates	Participation	Activity Email discussing Senate procedures, to include anonymity for Senators requesting resolution hold and schedule for vote on resolution	Senate	1711
9/22/2012	С		(Email chain) Participants:	-	Email references call between and the Durbin resolution		1712
9/22/2012	С	; DMP	(Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates,	-	Email converation following vote on Senate resolution. Confirmation received that the resolution was passed.	Senate	1714

			Govern	ment Relati	ons Activity		
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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
9/22/2012	Ċ	; DMP	(Email chain) Participants:		Gates confirms that there will be no strategy change despite Sen. Res. being hotlined.	Email list serv for the Senate	1715
			Rick Gates				
9/22/2012	С	DMP	(Email chain) Participants: Tony Podesta (Podesta); Rick Gates,	-	Gates sends an OpEd for along to confirms call with to pass		1719
9/22/2012	P		From: To:	 - 	Email relays speak with re: Ukraine resolution		1720
			Cc:				
9/23/2012	P	DMP	; From: Jonathan To: Paul Manafort; Rick Gates;	То	circulates documents and an agenda for H-Club meeting. The agenda includes topic of "International Activity", where "GC" and "USA" are listed.	USA (entity not specified)	1374

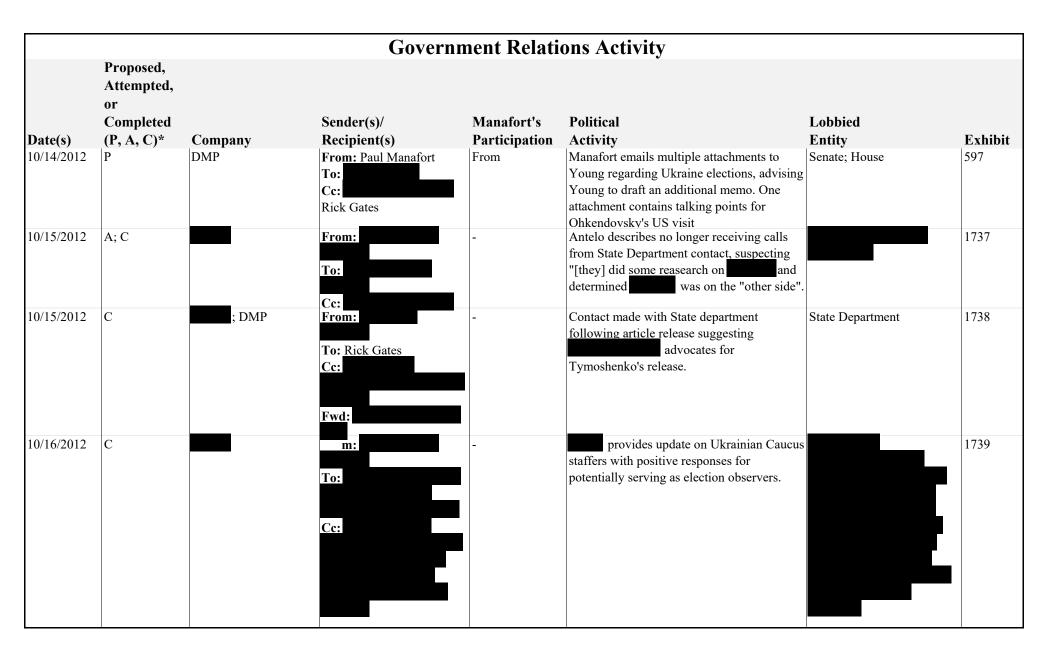
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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
9/24/2012	С	DMP	From: PJM To: VFY	From; Author/Last Saved	Manafort provides VFY with a strategy update regarding Durbin resolution.	White House; State Department;	594
9/24/2012	P		(Email chain) Participants:	-	Gates, after speaking with Manafort, prioritizes a meeting request with SL.		1721
9/24/2012	C	DMP ;	(Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates;	-	Gates forwards update on Tymoshenko's health, for awareness. forwards to a contact.		1723
9/24/2012	P	DMP ;	(Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates;	-	Gates requests assistance in arranging meetings for upcoming US visit by Yanukovych's Chief of Staff		1724
9/26/2012	P	;		-	Strategic project map and memo, referencing Ukraine engagement, for Washington, DC consultants	Washington, DC consultants	1377

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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
9/27/2012	P	; DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates sends a meeting agenda for "DC Consultants" meeting on September 26, 2016 containing "Overview and Comments from Kiev"		1726
10/1/2012	P		(Email chain) Participants:	-	Strategy plan by	Senators who have resigned, were defeated, or are retiring; Former and current government officials;	1727

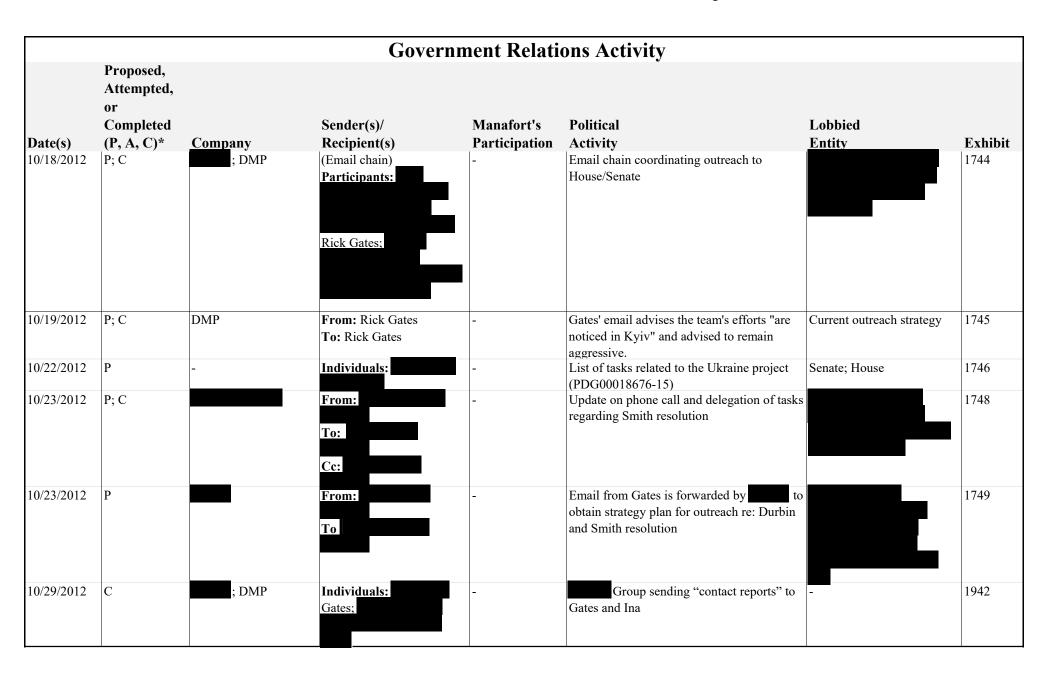


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Date(s) 10/2/2012	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s) From: To: Cc:	Participation -	Activity Email requesting a proposal for an intensive, one month government relations outreach effort	Entity Capital Hill; State Department	Exhibit 1602
10/3/2012	P		From: To:		Edits are forwarded from for the "Ukraine Election Work Plan"	Ukraine Caucus; Helsinki Commission; House; Senate;	1731
10/3/2012	С	; DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Cc:	-	Gates comments call with is a breakthrough.		1732

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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
10/9/2012	P	DMP	-	Author	PM memo titled "Observer Group Strategy Team" regarding dealing with election observers. PM has PJM/AK/Kozhara in charge of overall strategy with over Europe and RG/ over US.	US delegations to Ukraine	517
10/10/2012	P	; DMP;	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates emails pre-meeting note highlighting need for a plan to deflect the lies and distortions of the opposition "as the election gets closer and it begins to become apparent that the PoR is going to win"	References pre-election GR plan (entity is not specified)	
10/11/2012	P	ECFMU; DMP	From: (ECFMU) To: Rick Gates:		writes asking who from the PoR should visit DC directly after elections.		1736



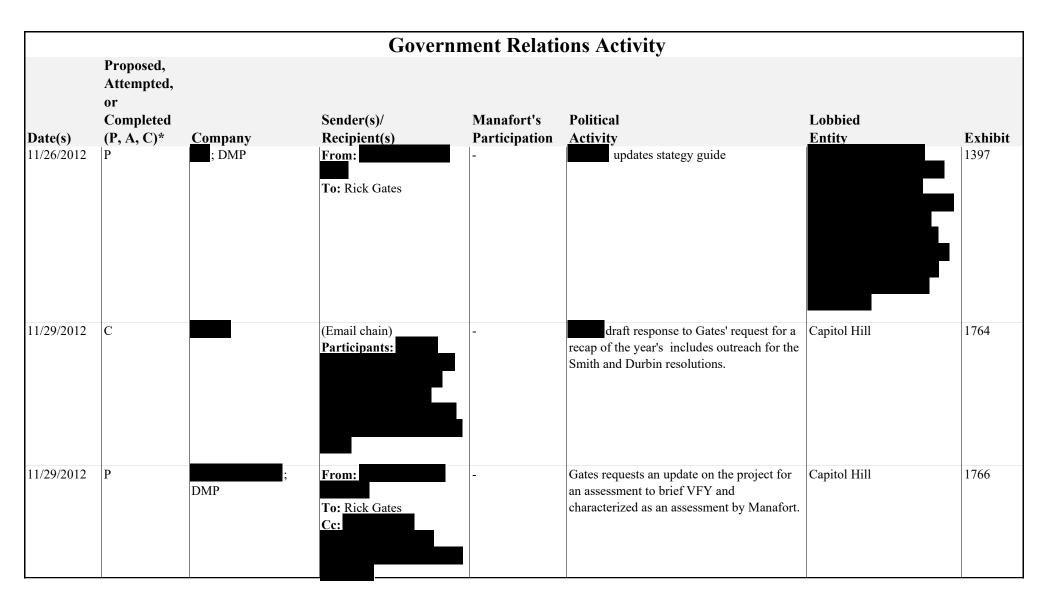
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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	<u>Activity</u>	Entity	Exhibit
10/16/2012	P		From: To:		forwards an email from Gates, which requests "[completing a] report for each person [they] contact in relation to Ukraine and the election and send these reports to [Gates] DAILY".	Entities, as definied in the pre- and post- election strategy plans	1740
10/17/2012	P		-	-	Draft letters addressed to Congressional members on behalf of Ukraine		1741
10/17/2012	С		-	-	Daily outreach report from		1742
10/17/2012	С		-	-	Daily outreach report from		1743
10/18/2012	С		-	-	Daily outreach report from		1431

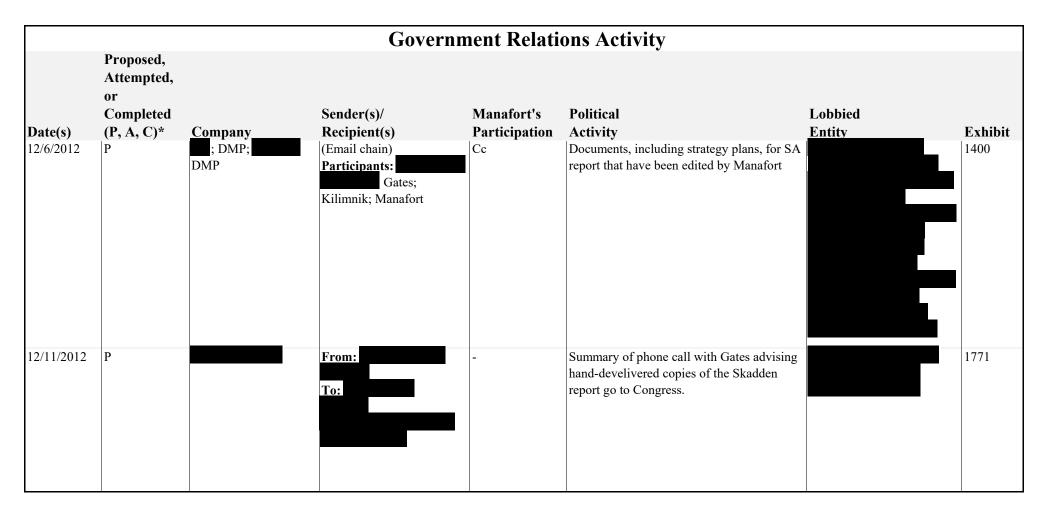


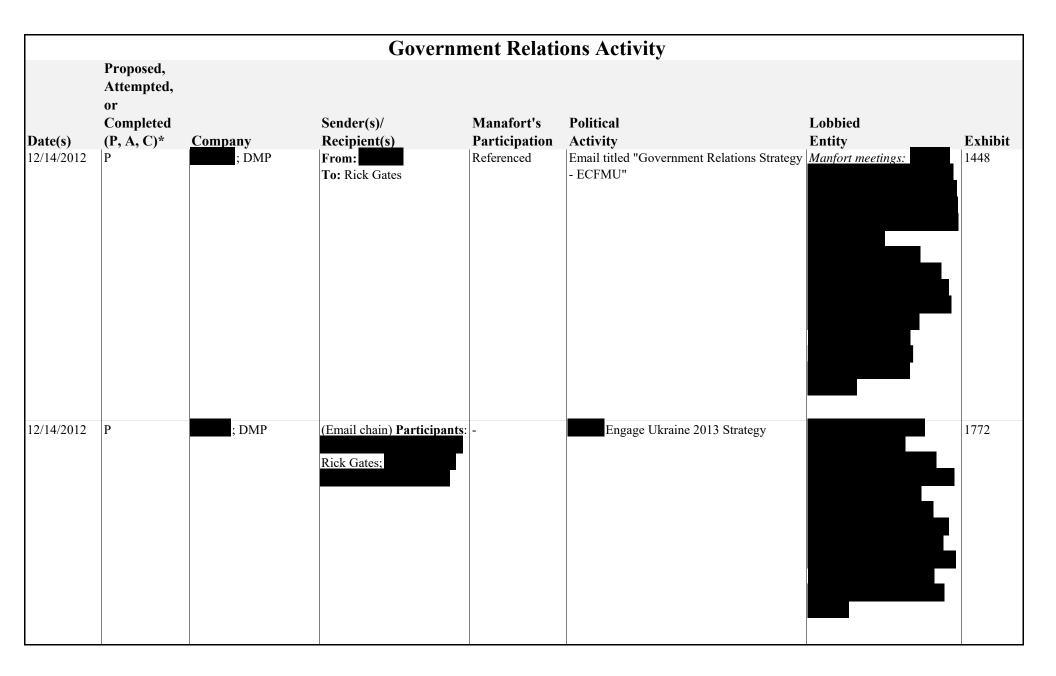
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Date(s)	$(P, A, C)^*$	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
10/29/2012	С	; DMP	Individuals: Gates;	-	sending "contact reports" to Gates and	-	1943
10/30/2012	P	DMP ;	(Email chain) Participants: Paul Manafort: ick Gates;	From	Gates forwards an email from Manafort to requesting a separate strategy for outreach.	White House; Natonal Security Council	1751
10/31/2012	С		From: To:	-	Tavlarides forwards a comment from COS for more balanced information on Ukraine.		1752
10/31/2012	P		From: To: Ce:	-	Draft daily report perceived as "more balanced" for distribution to contacts	State Department; House; Senate	1753
10/31/2012	С		Individuals:	-	Contact reports sent from Podesta Group to Gates and Kirsch	-	1754
10/31/2012	С		From: To: Ce:	-	CA sends final version of Hill report (PDG00035025) to staff on behalf of ECFMU		1755

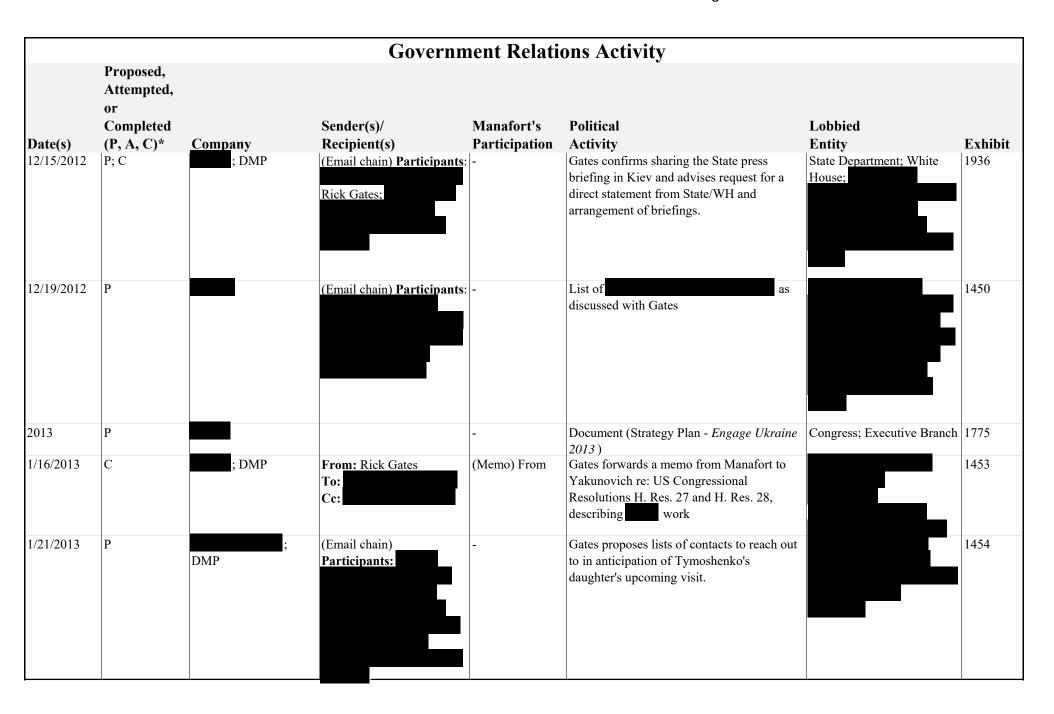
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Date(s) 11/1/2012	(P , A , C)*	Company ; DMP;	Recipient(s) From: Rick Gates	Participation	Activity Gates emails a request to stop a WH	Entity White House; State	Exhibit 1756
			То:		statement on Ukraine elections following negative public statements by State Department and includes VY's perception of the statements.	Department	
11/9/2012	P	; DMP	(Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates; (ECFMU);	-	PDG confirms covering Helsinkin Commission meetings	Helsinki Commission	1230
11/14/2012	P	; DMP	(Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates (Podesta);	-	Gates wants to know why they were unaware of a call between VP and Yanukovych.	White House Press Office List Serv	1760

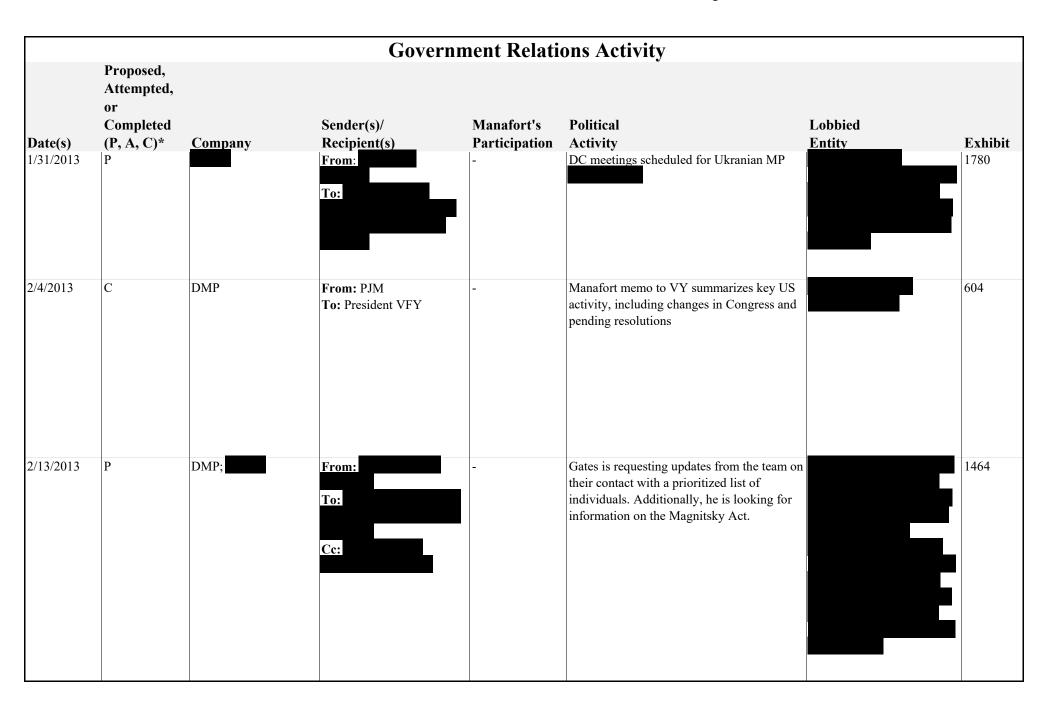
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Date(s)	$(P, A, C)^*$	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
11/19/2012	P	ECFMU; DMP;	Affiliates: (ECFMU);	-	Post-election Public Affair Plan through end of 2012 sent from to ECFMU	White House; National Security Council; State Department; House; Senate	1761
11/20/2012	P		Calendar Organizer: Attendees:	-	Calendar invite for internal Ukraine call re: Yefremov visit		1439
11/20/2012	P	; DMP	From: To: Rick Gates;	-	Request to Gates for confirmation of arranging meetings for November visit	Democratic Congressional staff	1762











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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
2/18/2013	P; C	DMP;	(Email chain) Participants:	1	Gates forwards draft document from and provides list of potential meetings to schedule for visit		1466
2/18/2013	P	DMP;	(Email chain) Participants:		Gates further directs priorities for meeting arrangements for visit	House Foreign Affairs Committee; Senate Foreign Relations Committee	1467
2/18/2013	С		To: Rick Gates Cc:	-	Wright sends requested updates/contacts to Gates.		1784
2/19/2013	С	DMP	M	From;	Memo to VFY regarding "actions taken by	Administration; Congress	605
			To: President VFY	Author/Last	[the] US consultants team in support of		
				Saved	Ukraine's priorities"		

			Governr	nent Relati	ons Activity		
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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
2/19/2013	P	; DMP;	(Email chain) Participants:	-	Gates organizing work plan meeting based on "info from Kyiv."		1465
2/21/2013	P	DMP	From: PJM To: President VFY	From; Author/Last Saved	PM memo to VY re Hapsburg Update to include plan to deploy to U.S. "By expanding the presence of the Hapsburg team to the US this yearleverage the team's experience, expertise, and network of high profile EU and US officials behind the	Administration officials;	606
2/21/2013	P	DMP	From: To: Konstantin Kilimnik	(Memo) From	scenes as much as nossible." Manfort memo to VFY re: Engage Ukraine Stategy for 2013	White House; Department of State; Congress	607
2/22/2013	P	DMP	From: To:	-	email regarding request for meetings on behalf of Forwards information sent to Manafort.	White House; Congress	1315
2/23/2013	P	DMP	(Email chain) Participants: ick Gates; Paul Manafort	Сс	Email coordinating meetings for	White House; Congress	1316

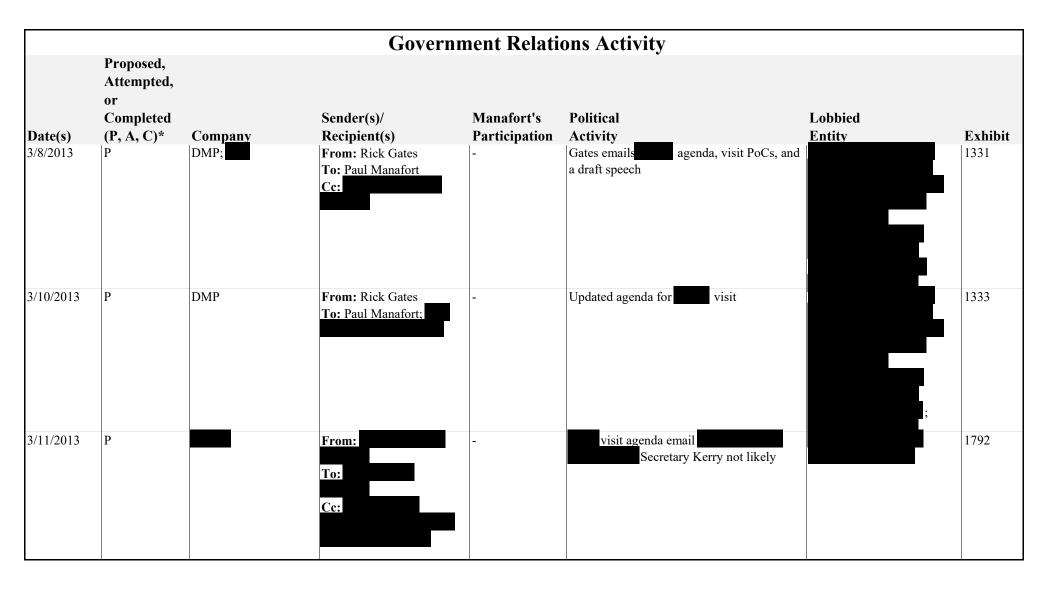
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Date(s)	$(P, A, C)^*$	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
2/24/2013	P; C	DMP	From: PJM To:	From; Author/Last Saved	Email update on and RP's visit/meeting agenda	Congress; Administation officials;	691
2/25/2013	P	DMP	From: Friedman To: Rick Gates;	-	Updated talking points for trips that are "more American"	-	1318
2/25/2013	С	DMP;	(Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates;	-	Outreach for meetings with Kwasniewski		1469
2/26/2013	С	DMP	From: PJM To:	From; Author/Last Saved	Positive update on US visit		692
2/27/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Cc: Paul Manafort	Ce	Gates provides priority meetings for visit	House; Senate; Senate Foreign Relations Committee	1320
2/27/2013	P	DMP	From: Friedman To: Paul Manafort; Konstantin Kilimnik	То	emails updates from ; mentions DC trip	political meetings	1321
2/27/2013	P	DMP;	From: To: Rick Gates Cc:	-	More congressional outreachs for visit		1471
2/28/2013	С	DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Paul Manafort Cc:	То	Gates provided talking point to re: meetings	-	1322

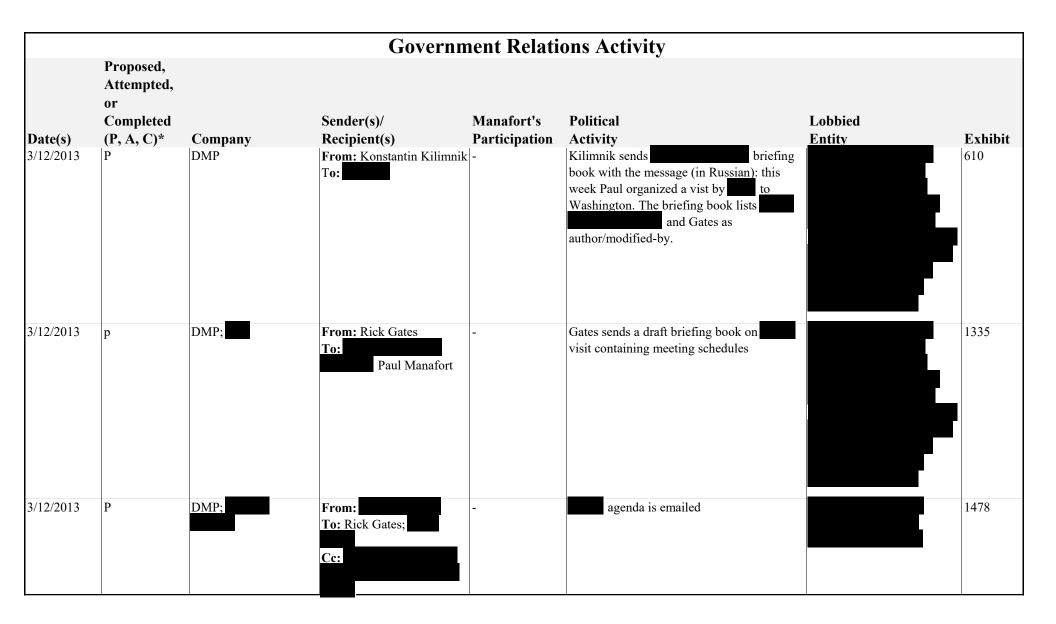
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Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Sender(s)/ Recipient(s)	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
3/1/2013	C	DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Cc: Paul Manafort	Cc	Gates sends final meeting agenda for	-	1324
3/1/2013	P		Calendar Organizer: Attendees:	•	Calendar invite detailing meetings		1473
3/2/2013	P; C	DMP	-	Author/Last Saved	Memo from Manafort with updates from previous visits and future meetings/taskings		693
3/3/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	•	Meeting letter request from to		1262
3/3/2013	С	DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Paul Manafort;	То	Gates provides positive updates on visit	All scheduled meetings attended	1326

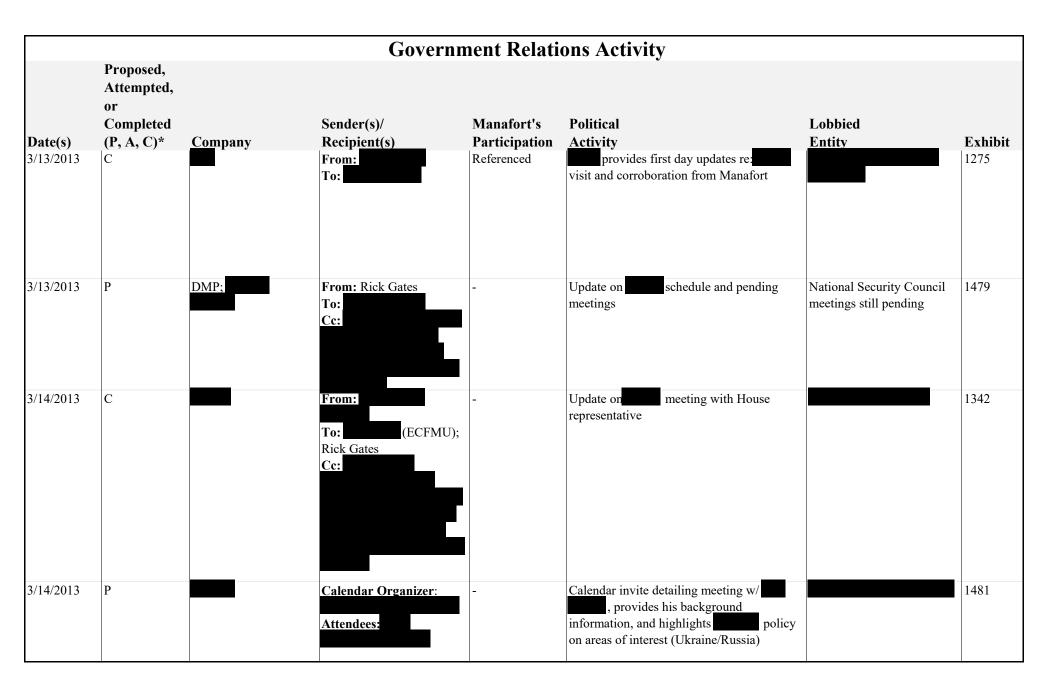
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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
3/3/2013	P	DMP;	From: To: Rick Gates Cc:		Memo sent to Gates re: to form strategy for out		1789
3/4/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Meeting letter request from		1263
3/4/2013	P	DMP	From: Friedman To: Cc:	-	sends draft letter to advising to send back to get put on letterhead.		1264
3/4/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates sends draft letters from intended for was unable to meet with while in DC	Congress	1265
3/4/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates advises draft letter to can be sent to "our guys in DC" for review		1266
3/4/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates provides directions on how to submit letter from to		1267
3/4/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To: Cc:		Arranging Manafort meetings and additional contact		1474

			Govern	ment Relati	ons Activity		
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Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
3/5/2013	P;C	DMP	-	-	PM memo to VY re vist to US and "I (PM) have begun to provide background briefings to the vising a several key influencers within the State Department to ensure that is prepared upon his arrival to Kyiy."	; State Department	609
3/5/2013	P	DMP;	From: To: Cc:	-	re: Gates Washington, DC visits	-	1270
3/5/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates	-	Gates provides update on scheduled meetings		1271
3/5/2013	P		From: To: Cc:	-	Draft letter from		1272
3/5/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To: Paul Manafort;	То	anticipated meeting schedule		1327
3/5/2013	P	DMP;	(Email chain) Participants:	-	Gates priorities for visit		1476

			Govern	ment Relati	ons Activity		
Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company_	Sender(s)/ Recipient(s)	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
3/6/2013	P P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To: Cc:	-	Confirmation of additional meeting for	Entity	1477
3/7/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	=	Gates requests draft letter is forwarded to White House officials		1273
3/7/2013	P	DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Copy of draft letter requesting to be forwarded	-	1328
3/7/2013	P	DMP	From: To: Cc:	-	Draft meeting schedule for s visit		1790
3/8/2013	P	DMP	ck Gates	-	Gates is working on talking points for Congressional meetings		1330

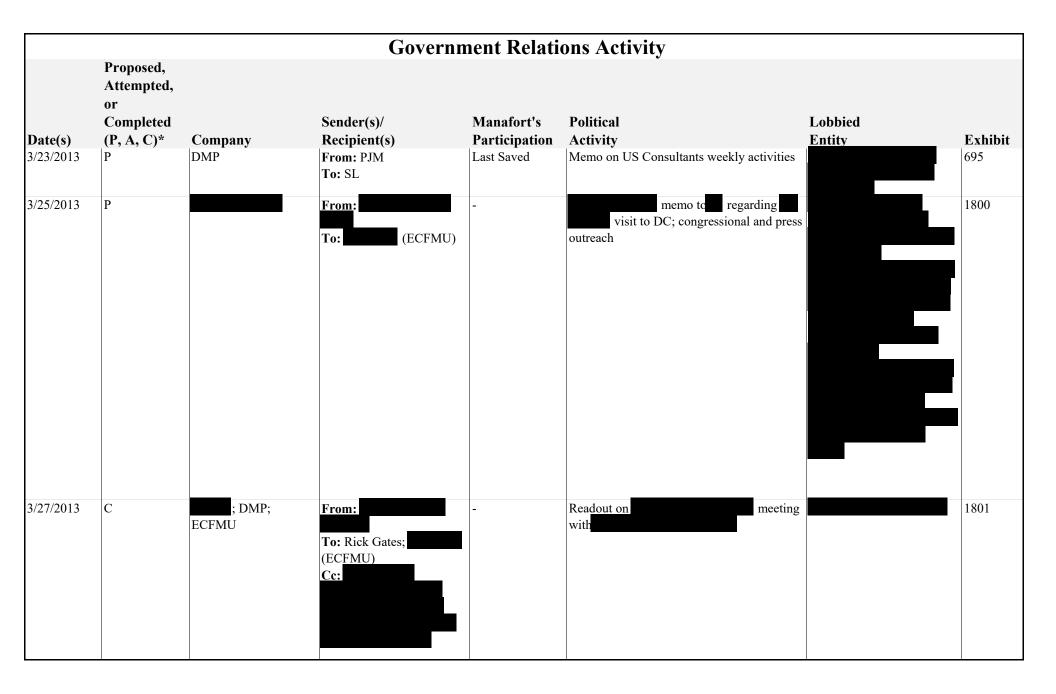


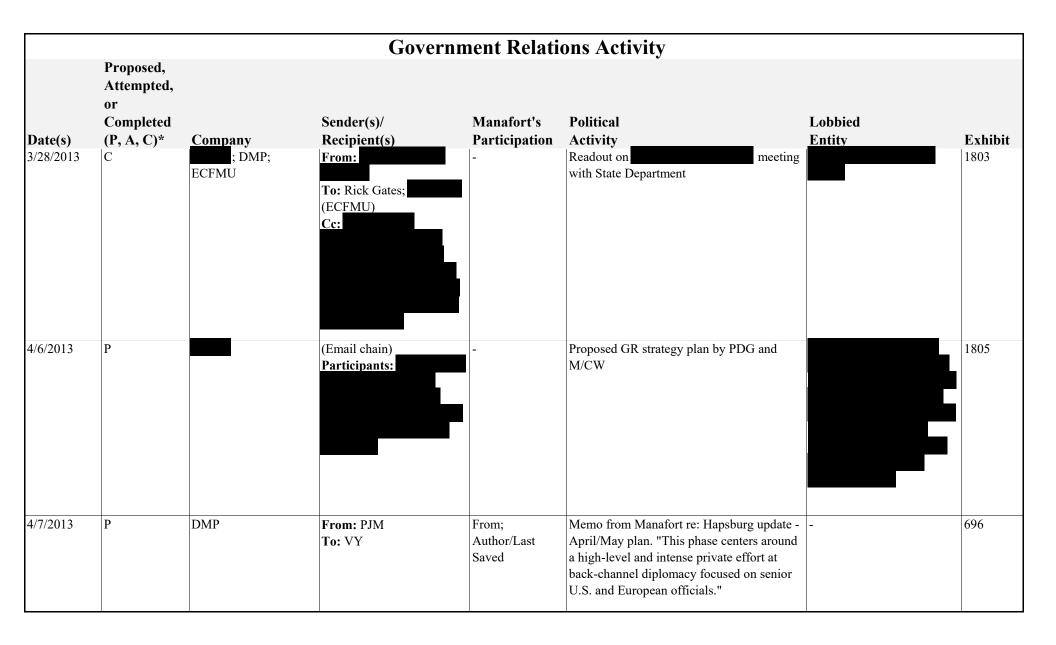


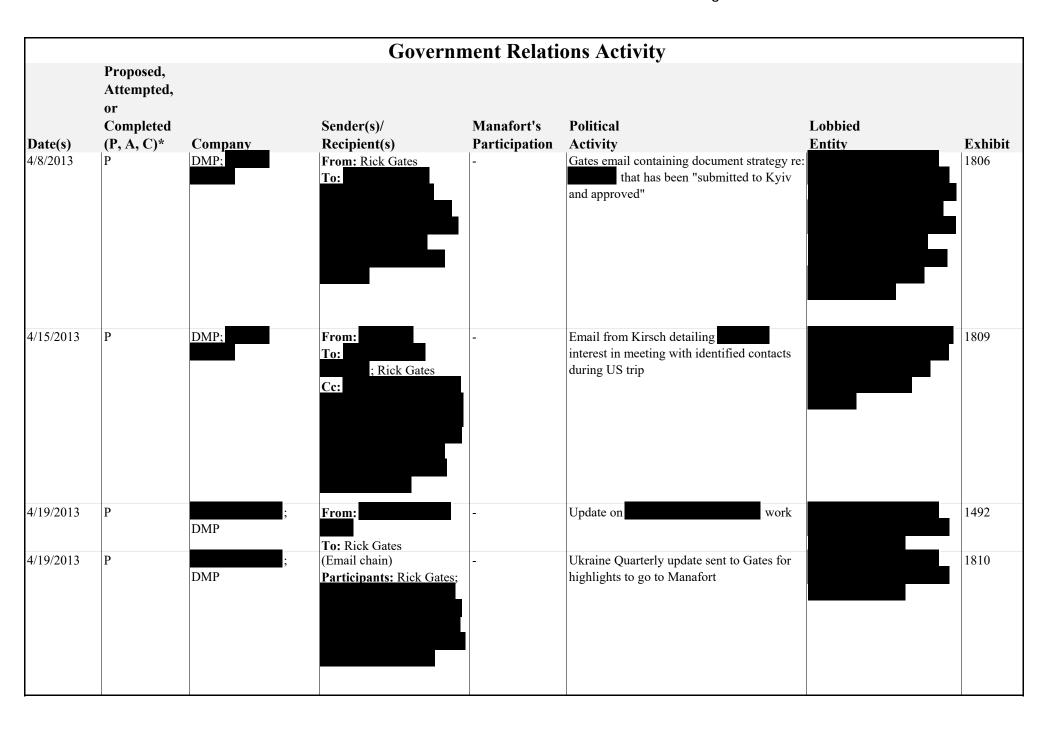


			Governm	nent Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or				·		
Doto(s)	Completed	Commons	Sender(s)/	Manafort's Participation	Political	Lobbied	Exhibit
Date(s) 3/14/2013	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s) From: To: Rick Gates; Paul Manafort Cc:	То	Activity Calendar update for meeting changes between Manafort and Congress	Entity	1482
3/14/2013	P		From: To: Cc:	-	Target list for supcoming visit includes outreach to Congress	State Department	1793
3/15/2013	С	DMP	To: Paul Manafort Cc: Rick Gates; Konstantin Kilimnik	То	Sager sends memo summarizing 's trip to DC	-	1343
3/16/2013	С	DMP	From: Konstantin Kilimnik To:	-	Kilimnik confirms opening 's memo re:	-	611
3/16/2013	С	DMP	Fom: PJM To:	From	Memo on sursit discusses bi-laterial meetings		694

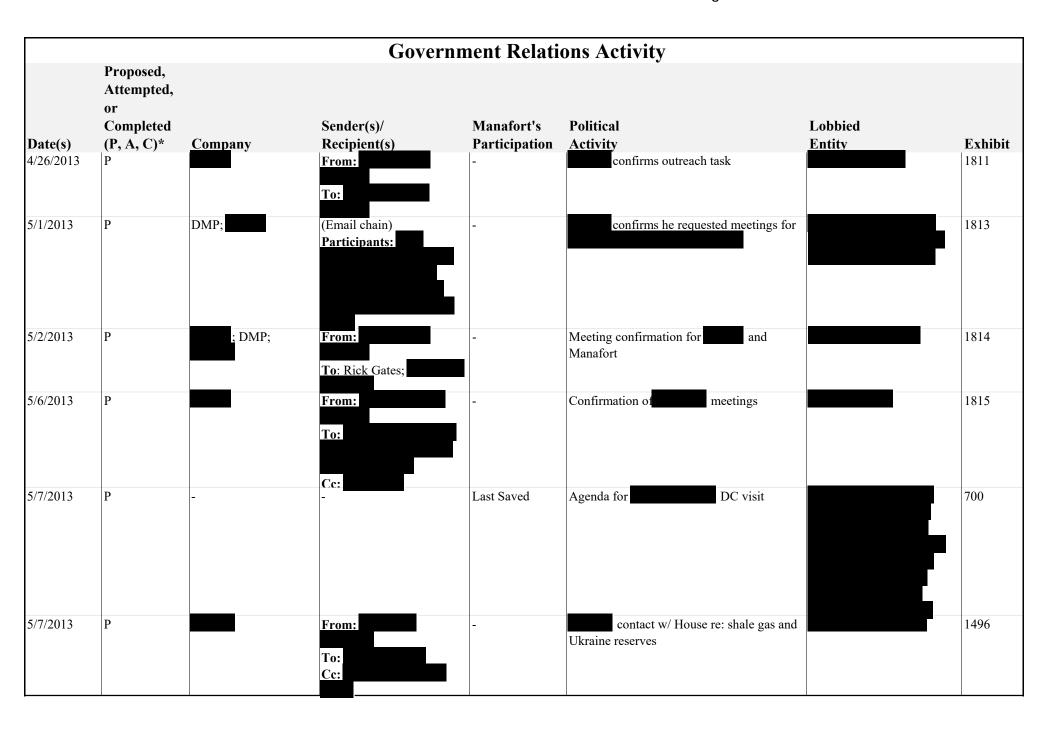
			Gover	nment Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or				U		
D (()	Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	T 1 1 1 4
Date(s) 3/17/2013	(P , A , C)*	Company	Recipient(s) From: Rick Gates To: Cc:	Participation -	Activity Gates emails requesting a readout on interviews from strip, but highlights the success of the GR meetings.	Entity -	Exhibit 1794
3/18/2013	С	DMP;	From: To: Paul Manafort	То	Memo to PM re: upcoming briefings, Q&A about ECFMU and a question about FARA.		1484
3/18/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To: Cc:	Referenced	Update on Paul Manafort's scheduled DC meetings		1485
3/18/2013	P	; DMP	From: To: Rick Gates Cc:	-	Talking points for the President are sent to Gates, address Congressional sanctions	Congress	1795
3/18/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates	-	Gates request talking points for the President's meeting with		1797
3/19/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To:	Referenced	Read message confirmation for subject		1488
3/21/2013	P	DMP	-	Author/Last Saved	Gates Agenda for 3/21/13; Discusses GR and PR in US		613



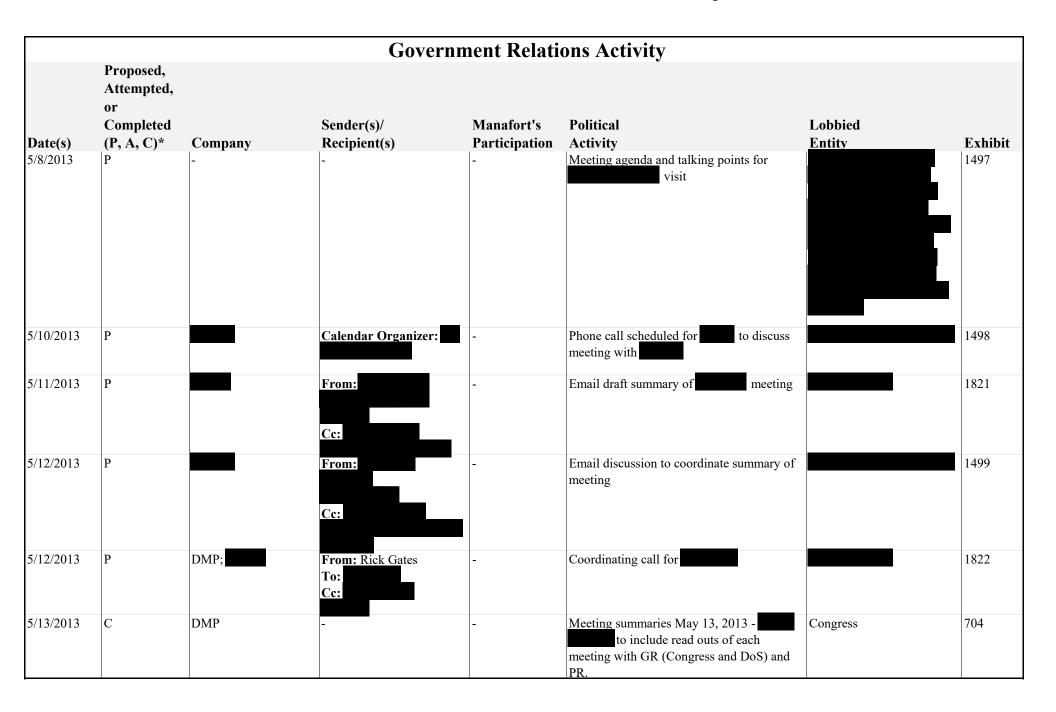


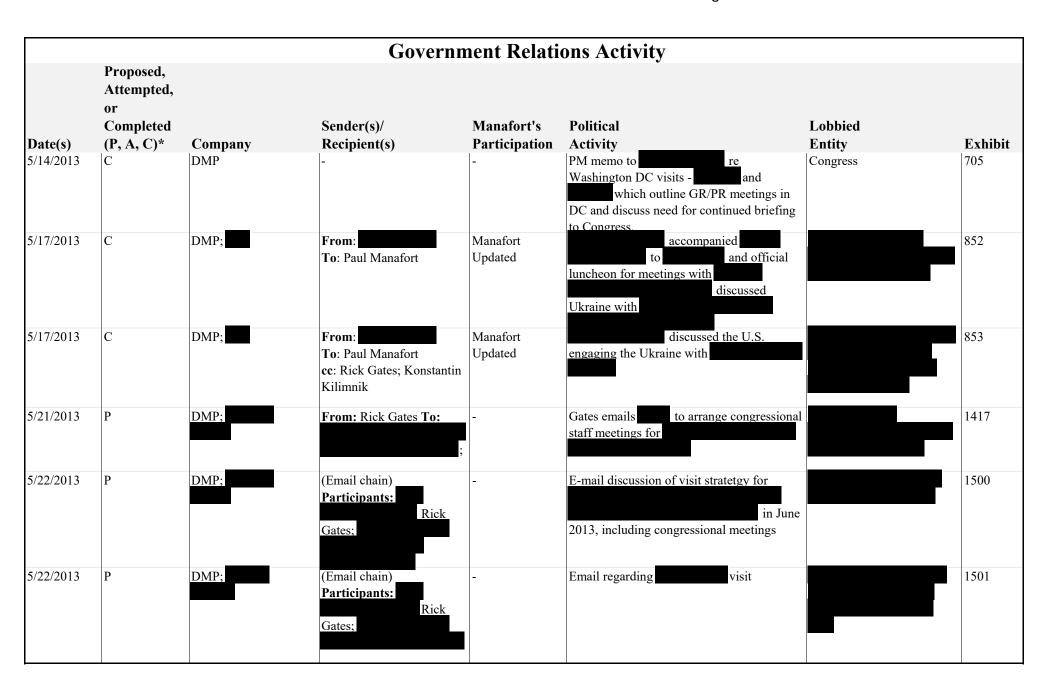


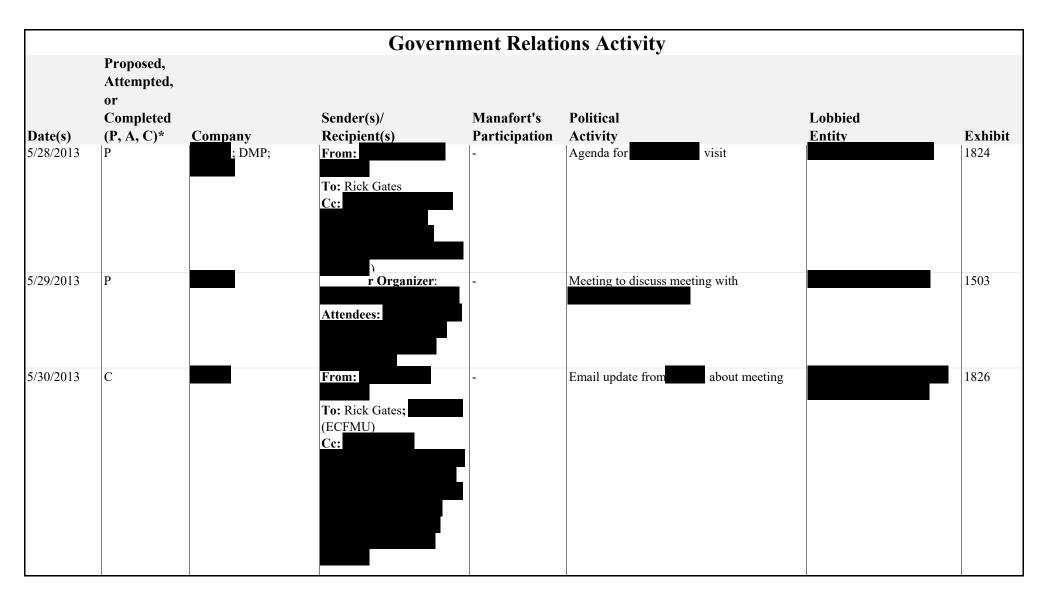
	Government Relations Activity									
	Proposed, Attempted, or				·					
D (()	Completed	C	Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	E 1914			
Date(s) 4/21/2013	(P , A , C)*	Company DMP	Recipient(s) From: PJM	Participation From; Last	Activity US Consultants Activity - Weekly Update	Entity White House; Senate;	Exhibit 697			
4/21/2013	C	DIVIE	To:	Saved	US Consultants Activity - weekly Opuate	House; State Department	097			
4/22/2013	С	DMP	From: PJM	From; Last	Manfort memo re: Quarterly Report on US	White House; Senate;	616			
			To: President VFY	Saved	Consultants activity	House; State Department				
4/25/2013	C	DMP	From: PJM	From;	Manfort sends an updated ledger of	US Lobbying	617			
			To:	Author/Last Saved	summary of accounts overdue and writes "I have paid out all of Hapsburg and all but one					
				Saved	month of the US operations out of my pocket."					
4/25/2013	P	DMP	-	Author/Last	Outline from Manafort detailing GR		699			
				Saved	outreach					
4/25/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates details taskings after Manafort's meeting with the Minister		712			
4/25/2013	P	DMP;	Calendar Organizer:	-	Subject: Call Rick Gates	; State Department	1939			
4/26/2013	P	DMP;	(Email chain)	-	Email coordination to schedule meetings	Department	1493			
			Participants:							

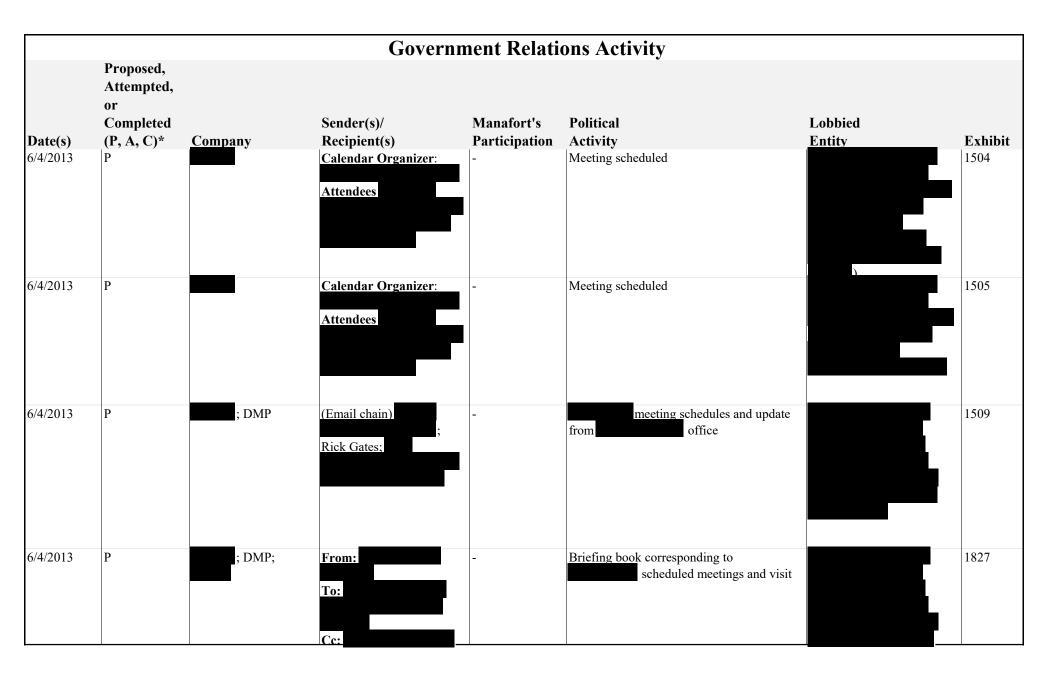


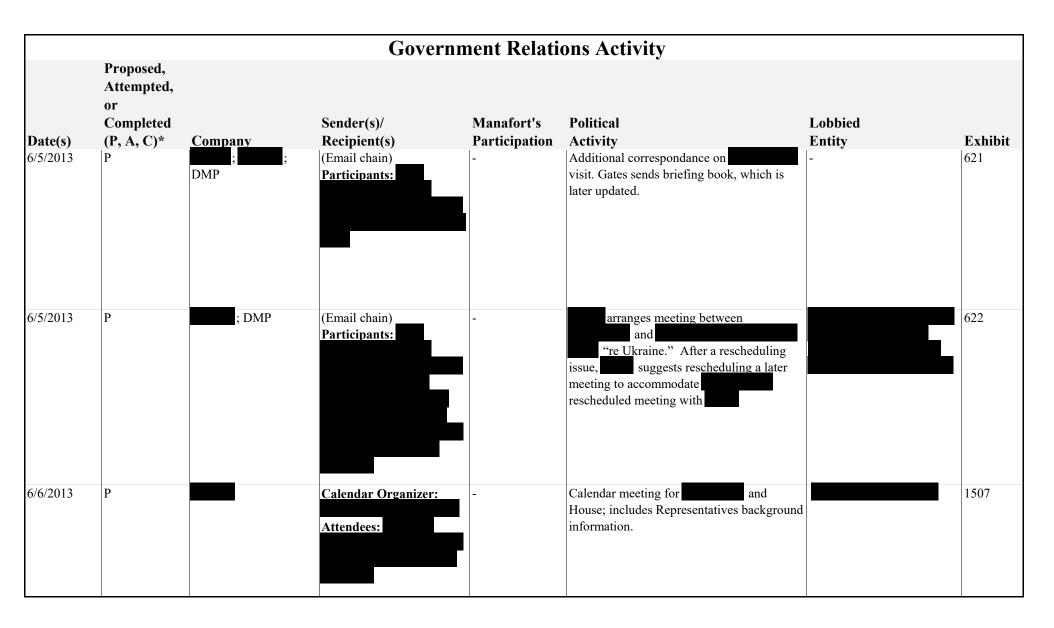
	Government Relations Activity										
	Proposed, Attempted, or				·						
D (()	Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political		Lobbied	T	1		
Date(s) 5/8/2013	(P , A , C)*	Company -	Recipient(s)	Participation -	Activity Agenda for	Visit	Entity	701	xhibit 1		
5/8/2013	P	-	-	-	Agenda for	Visit		702)2		
								E			
5/8/2013	C	-	-	-	Meeting summaries for visit	or		703)3		
					Visit						











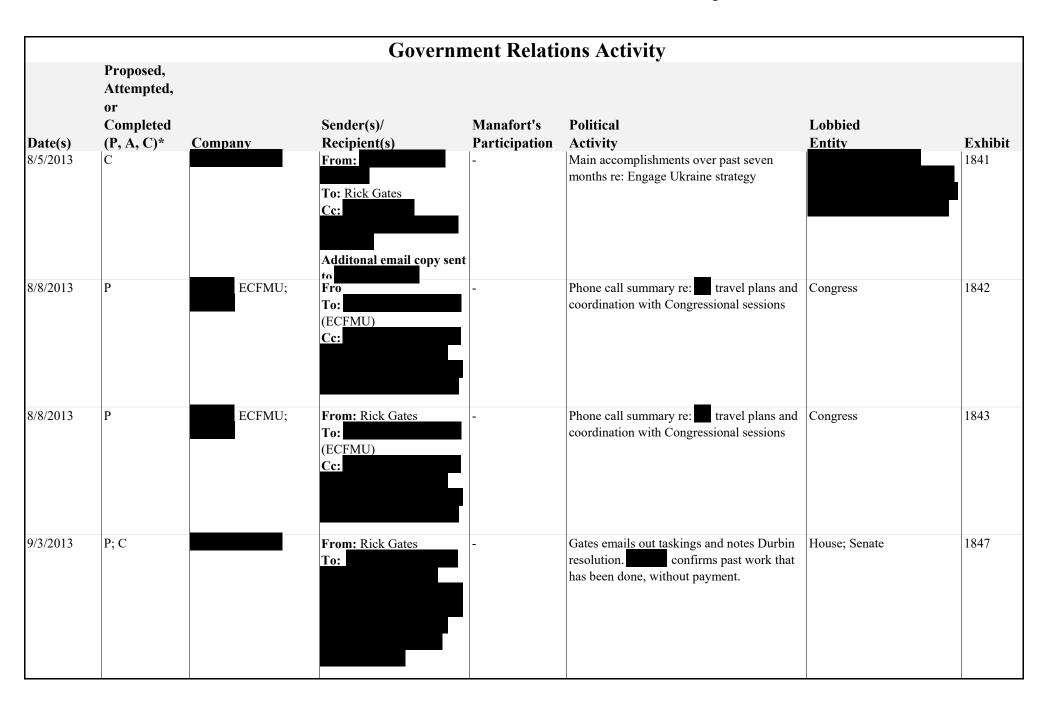
	Government Relations Activity										
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied					
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit				
6/6/2013	P		Calendar Organizer: Attendees:	-	Calendar meeting for and House; includes Representatives background information.		1508				

			Governi	ment Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or				ů		
	Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
6/7/2013	C		From: To: Rick Gates		Document summarizing outreach and contact made on behalf of svisit 's visit 's		1510

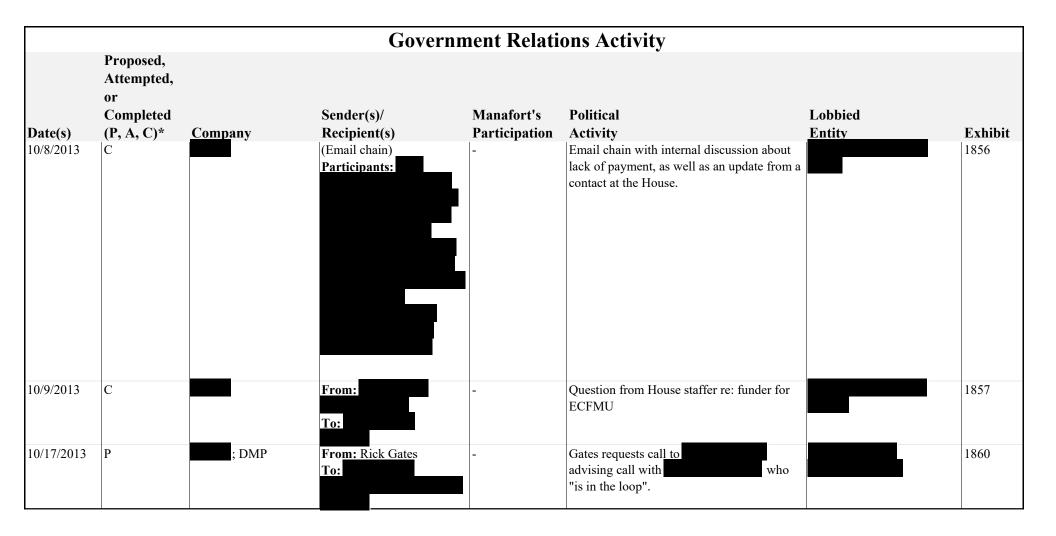
			Gover	nment Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or				·		
	Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
6/9/2013	С	-	From: PJM To:	Last Saved	Summary report from Manafort on trip		706
6/12/2013	С	; DMP;	From: To: Rick Gates;		sends Gates a memo with an overview of the Durbin resolution, as requested by Gates	House; Senate	1830
6/17/2013	С	DMP	From: PJM To:	Last Saved	PM memo to SL stating "I have been financing operations by a personal loanI have new obligations to Hapsburg and the US ConsultantsThe work is at a peak leve of impact in the US and with selected media."	-	707

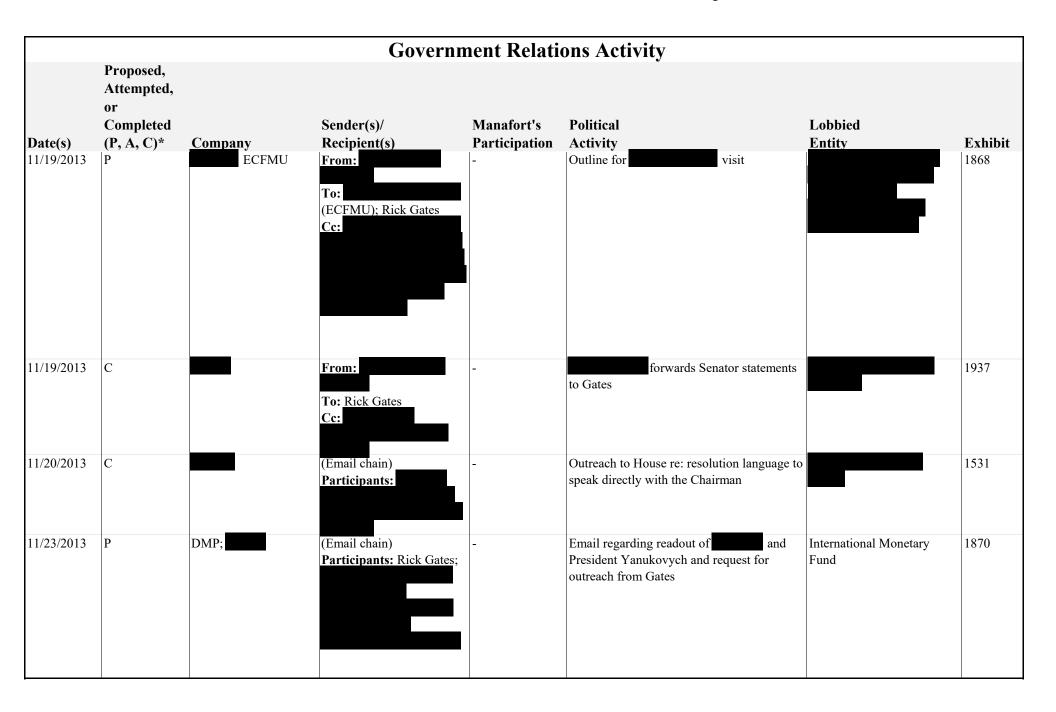
			Governr	nent Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or				Ü		
	Completed		Sender(s)/	Manafort's	Political	Lobbied	
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Recipient(s)	Participation	Activity	Entity	Exhibit
6/18/2013	C	; DMP; ECFMU	To: Rick Gates;	-	updates Gates and on recent meeting		1831
6/25/2013	P	; DMP	From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates suggests a Senate outreach		1835
6/25/2013	P		From: Rick Gates To:	-	Gates asks for review of memo re: Durbin resolution that may need to be used with Kyiv		1836
6/26/2013	С	DMP	From: Konstantin Kilimnii To:	k -	Memo from PM to SL is sent Kilimnik re: Durbin resolution	Senate; House; State Department	624

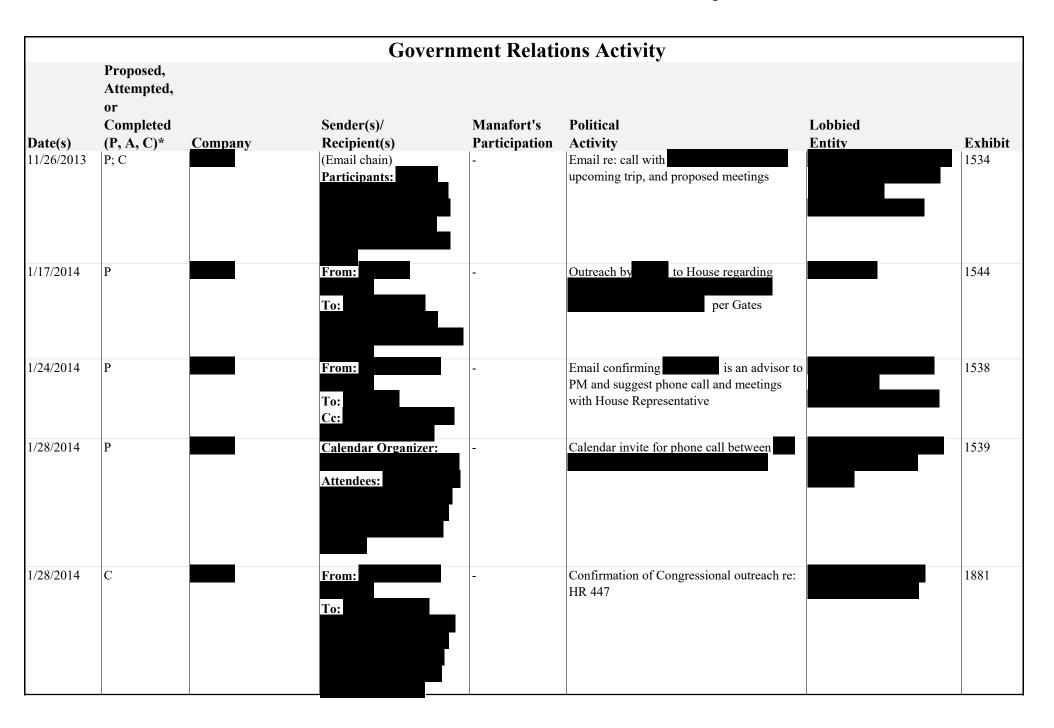
			Gover	nment Relati	ons Activity		
Date(s) 6/26/2013	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company DMP;	Sender(s)/ Recipient(s) From: Rick Gates	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity Gates requests Mercury assessment on	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
			То:		postion on the Durbin resolution.		
7/10/2013	P	DMP	From: PJM To:	From; Last Saved	PM memo to SL details strategy is to deploy the Hapsburg team to make calls to specific members of US Congress. Advises team's reluctancy to move forward until the contractual issues are resolved.	Congress	708
7/11/2013	P		From: To: Cc:	-	Gates wants to identify contacts to lobby Senator re: Durbin resolution.		1838
7/11/2013	P		(Email chain) Participants:	-	Contacts identified with gas interests to lobby Senator re: Durbin resolution		1839
7/25/2013	P	; DMP	(Email chain) Participants: Rick Gates	- I ;	Email proposing discusions with Senator re: Durbin resolution		1840

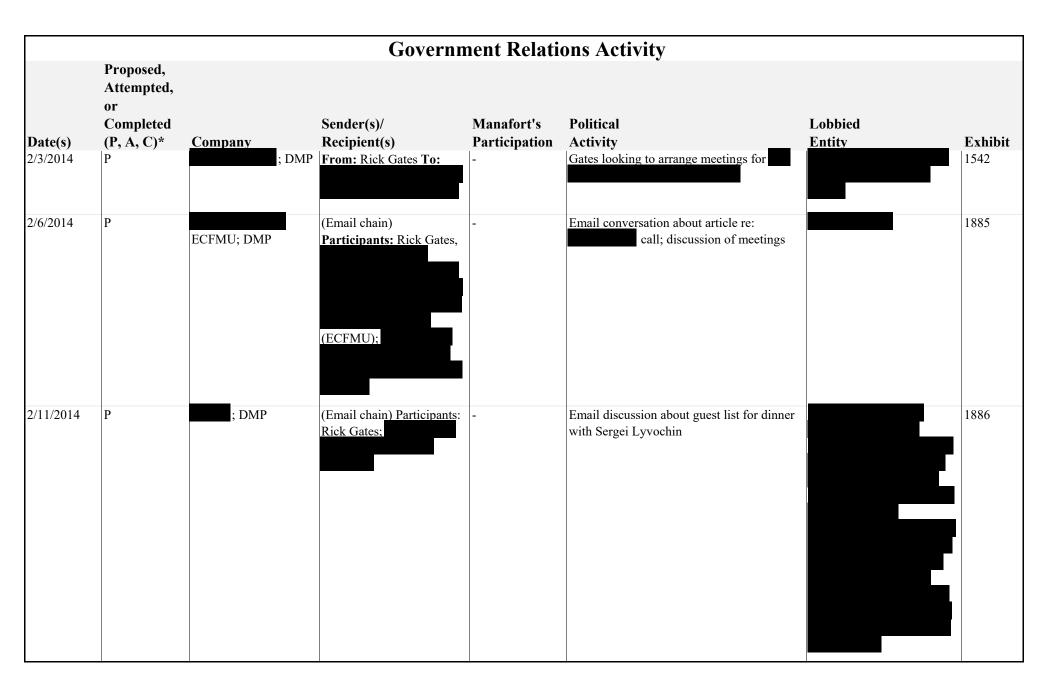


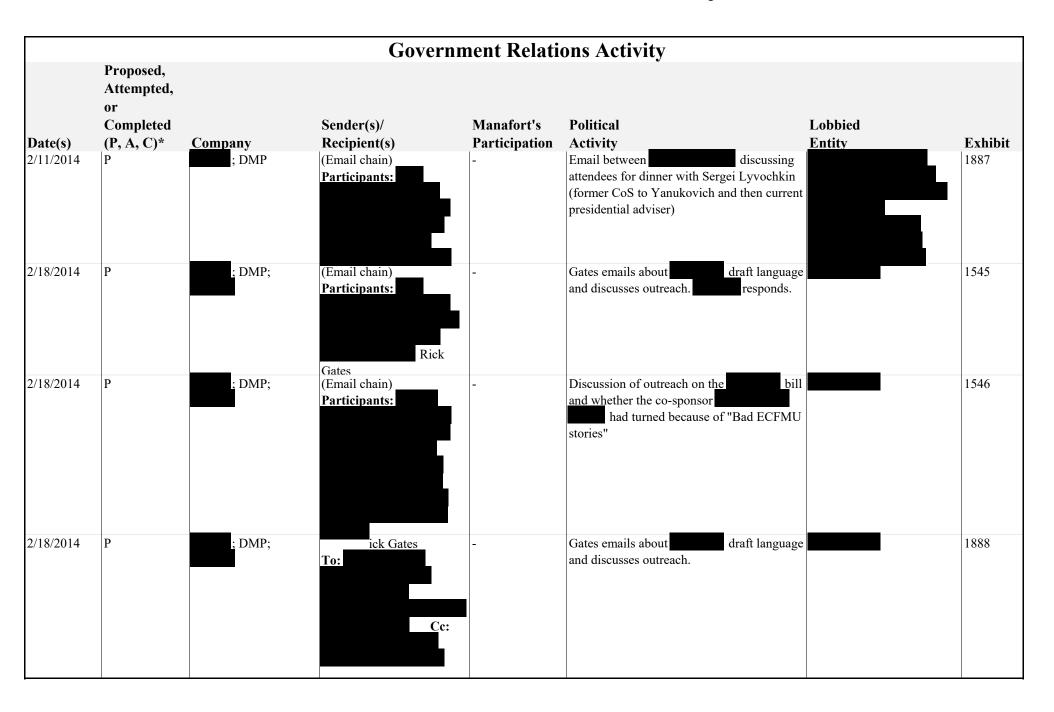
			Govern	ment Relati	ons Activity		
	Proposed, Attempted, or				·		
Date(s)	Completed (P, A, C)*	<u>Company</u>	Sender(s)/ Recipient(s)	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
9/4/2013	P	Company	From: To:		sends draft resoulution language re: Tymoshenko	House; Senate	1849
9/25/2013	P		hain) Participants:	-	replies to 9/24 e-mail advising RG requested effort to identify contacts to oppose the legislation calling for Tymoshenko's release in districts with strong Ukr-American presence; questions feasibility and requests clarification on the identification of districts and fundraisers	House; Senate	1852
9/30/2013	P		From: To: Cc:	-	receives an update from advises not to pass along to "client".		1853



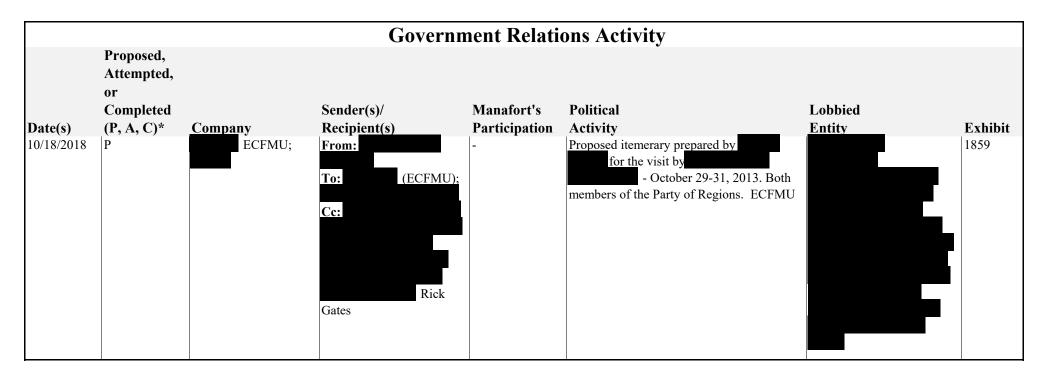








			Governn	nent Relati	ons Activity		
Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/ Company Recipient(s)		Political Activity	Lobbied	
4/21/2014	(P , A , C)*	Company DMP	; From: Rick Gates To:	Participation	Gates emails about Yulia Tymo's trip to DC and negative blog reports about Congressional meetings	Entity Congress	Exhibit 1907
5/7/2014	P		(Email chain) Participants:	-	Email of QFRs for the Ukraine HFAC hearing	Discusses State Department's role	1909
6/26/2016	P		From To:	-	Itinerary detailing scheduled meetings on the Hill	Senate	1656
6/27/2017	С	DMP	Cc: es: Paul Manafort;		NSD/FARA Registration		928
2/28/2018	С	DMP;	Richard Gates (Chat) Participants: Konstantin Kilimnik;	Registrant	Discussion about lobbying	-	1346
2/28/2018	С	DMP;	(Chat) Participants: Konstantin Kilimnik;	-	Discussion about lobbying	-	1347



			Go	vernment Relati	ons Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted, or						
D (()	Completed		Sender(s)/Recipient(s		75. 14. 4. 4. 4.	T. 11. 15. 4	F 194
Date(s) 6/2/2005	(P , A , C)*	Company DMP	From: PJM To: CC:	Participation From	Political Activity Memo summarizing Manafort's meeting with the coordinator of US-Ukraine policy at the National Security Council	National Security Council	Exhibit 500
6/25/2012	P	; DMP	From: PJM To: RG; KK;	From	Memo from Manafort proposing a strategy to go on offense against criticism of the Ukrainian government. Gates will direct the collaborative government relations outreach plan.	"western governments" (entities not specified)	503
7/10/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: Rick Gates	From	Memo outlining key talking points by Ukrainian politician, during Ohkendovsky's upcoming visit to the US	House; Senate (Both per itinerary)	506
8/5/2012	P	ECFMU; DMP	From: PJM To: Cc:	From	Email containining government relations plan	European government entities	508
10/9/2012	P	DMP	-	Author	PM memo titled "Observer Group Strategy Team" regarding dealing with election observers. PM has PJM/ in charge of overall strategy with Europe and	US delegations to Ukraine	517

			Go	vernment Relati	ons Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Manafort's			
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*)	Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
6/18/2005	P	- · ·	Í-	Author/Last Saved	Memo titled <i>Basel Presentation</i> , detailing a programatic strategy based upon a direct mandate provided by The three programs identified are political efforts, government lobbying, and legal efforts.	US and European Governments (USG Entities: State Department; White House; National Security Council; Commerce Department; AID; World Bank)	520
6/23/2005	P	DMP	From: Paul J. Manafort, Richard Davis To: Author/Last Saved:	From	Memo, with the subject line "Political, Lobbying and Legal Program for CIS", provides an update on the project's success within Ukraine and outlines a strategy for CIS countries	White House; Capitol Hill; US State Department	521
6/25/2005	P	-	-	Author/Last Saved	Memo to	White House; National Security Council; Office of the VP; State Department; Energy Department; Commerce Department; Interior Department; Congress	522
8/10/2005	P	-	From: DM To: Author:	Last Saved	Memo	National Security Council; State Department; Treasury Department; Commerce Department;	523

			Go	vernment Relatio	ons Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Manafort's			
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company)	Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
2/16/2010	P; C	DMP	From: PJM To: VFY	Author/Last Saved	Email identifying recipients who received a financial bonus from Manafort, for VFY's consideration for an additional bonus from VFY. One recipient listed is "Main US Lobbyist".	Main US Lobbyist	531
2/20/2010	P; C	DMP	From: Paul J. Manafort To: President Victor Yanukovich	Author	Memo defines a plan to manage the strategy, public relations and international affairs for President Yanukovich. Manafort references previously managing a Government Relations program for VFY, that Manafort personally created and paid for.	Diplomatic and Political Communities within the US	532
4/9/2010	P	DMP	From: PJM To: VFY	From	Memo to VFY regarding VFY's upcoming trip to the US, which includes talking points for a meeting with	US Presidential Administration; US Treasury; World Bank	536
6/18/2010	P; C	DMP	From: Paul J. Manafort To: President Victor Yanukovich	From; Author/Last Saved	Memo to VFY offering thanks for a financial bonus VFY sent, providing updates on Manafort's meetings with USG entities re: IMF deal, and talking points for a future meeting between VFY and	US Department of Treasury, National Security Council	539

			Go	vernment Relati	ions Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/Recipient(s				
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*)	Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
3/2/2011	P	DMP	From: PJM To:	From	Email providing talking points for a scheduled call between VFY and	White House Administration	543
10/16/2011	С	-	From: K. Kilimnik To: , two (2) other recipients	Author/Last Saved	Memo from to VFY with a readout of meetings and phone calls Manafort has had regarding Tymoshenko.	"Washington" - entities are not further specified	551
3/13/2012	С	DMP	From: Konstanin Kilimnik To: Paul Manafort Last Saved: Konstantin Kilimnik	Author	Memo to VFY about contact with the European and US government regarding Tymosheno	National Security Council	563
4/10/2012	P	DMP	From: Konstantin Kilimnik To: Paul Manafort	То	Kilimnik has a called scheduled with and SL has requested weekly updates regarding lobbying, PR, and GR activities.	-	567
4/11/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: K. Kilimnik; Rick Gates	From	Email chain discussing providing an update to BG re: and Skadden. PM provides guidance to include activities.	-	568

			Go	vernment Relatio	ons Activity: Paul Manafort		
Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*		Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
4/11/2012	p P	; DMP	(Email) From: Konstantin Kilimnik (Email) To: Two (2) other Russian recipients (Memo) From: PJM (Memo) To: VFY Author/Last saved: Rick Gates	From	Update on the public affairs and government relations strategy. There is a proposal for a US Congressional delegation to Ukraine.	US Congressional members	569
9/15/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: Rick Gates Cc: Konstanin Kilimnik	From; Author/Last Saved	Memo from Manafort advising aggressive short term strategy plan titled <i>Pre-Election Lobby Plan</i>		589
9/24/2012	С	DMP	From: PJM To: VFY	From; Author/Last Saved	Manafort provides VFY with a strategy update regarding Durbin resolution.	White House; State Department;	594
10/14/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: Cc: Konstantin Kilimnik; Rick Gates	From	Manafort emails multiple attachments to regarding Ukraine elections, advising draft an additional memo. One attachment contains talking points for US visit	Senate; House	597

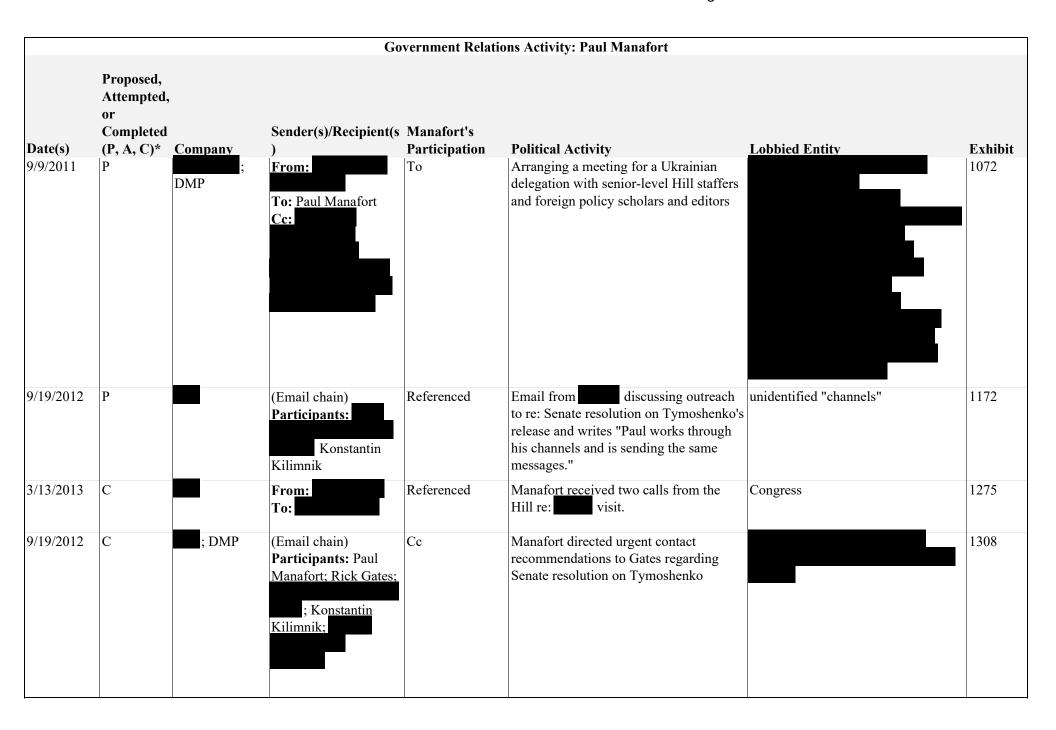
			Go	overnment Relatio	ns Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted						
Date(s)	Completed (P, A, C)*		Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
2/19/2013	C	DMP	From: PJM To: President VFY	From; Author/Last Saved	Memo to VFY regarding "actions taken by [the] US consultants team in support of Ukraine's priorities"	Administration; Congress	605
2/21/2013	P	DMP	From: PJM To: President VFT	From; Author/Last Saved	PM memo to VY re Hapsburg Update to include plan to deploy to U.S. "By expanding the presence of the Hapsburg team to the US this yearleverage the team's experience, expertise, and network of high profile EU and US officials behind the scenes as much as possible."	Administration officials;	606
2/21/2013	P	DMP	From: Stepanov To: Konstantin Kilimnik	(Memo) From	Manfort memo to VFY re: Engage Ukraine Stategy for 2013	White House; Department of State; Congress	607
3/21/2013	P	DMP	-	Author/Last Saved	Gates Agenda for 3/21/13; Discusses GR and PR in US	;	613
4/22/2013	С	DMP	From: PJM To: President VFY	From; Last Saved	Manfort memo re: Quarterly Report on US Consultants activity	White House; Senate; House; State Department	616
4/25/2013	С	DMP	From: PJM To:	From; Author/Last Saved	Manfort sends an updated ledger of summary of accounts overdue and writes "I have paid out all of Hapsburg and all but one month of the US operations out of my pocket."	US Lobbying	617

			G	Sovernment Relatio	ns Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sanday(a)/Daginiant/	(a Manafaut'a			
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company	Sender(s)/Recipient(Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
2/24/2013	P; C	DMP	From: PJM To:		Email update on Kwasniewski and RP's visit/meeting agenda	Congress; Administation officials;	691
2/26/2013	С	DMP	From: PJM To:	From; Author/Last Saved	Positive update on Portnov's US visit		692
3/2/2013	P; C	DMP	-	Author/Last Saved	Memo from Manafort with updates from previous visits and future meetings/taskings		693
3/16/2013	С	DMP	Fom: PJM To:	From	Memo on Prodi's visit discusses bi- laterial meetings		694
3/23/2013	P	DMP	From: PJM To:		Memo on US Consultants weekly activities		695
4/7/2013	P	DMP	From: PJM To:	Saved	Memo from Manafort re: Hapsburg update - April/May plan. "This phase centers around a high-level and intense private effort at back-channel diplomacy focused on senior U.S. and European officials."	-	696
4/21/2013	С	DMP	From: PJM To:	From; Last Saved	US Consultants Activity - Weekly Update	White House; Senate; House; State Department	697

			Go	vernment Relation	ns Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted						
Data(a)	Completed		Sender(s)/Recipient(s		D-1:4:1 A-4:-:4	I abbit J Faster	F-1:1:4
Date(s) 4/25/2013	(P , A , C)*	Company DMP	- -	Participation Author/Last Saved	Political Activity Outline from Manafort detailing GR outreach	Lobbied Entity Congressman w/ shale gas field interests	Exhibit 699
5/7/2013	P	-	-	Last Saved	Agenda for DC visit		700
6/9/2013	С	-	From: PJM To: SL	Last Saved	Summary report from Manafort on trip		706
6/17/2013	С	DMP	From: PJM To: SL		PM memo to SL stating "I have been financing operations by a personal loanI have new obligations to Hapsburg and the US ConsultantsThe work is at a peak level of impact in the US and with selected media."	-	707
7/10/2013	P	DMP	From: PJM To:		PM memo to SL details strategy is to deploy the Hapsburg team to make calls to specific members of US Congress. Advises team's reluctancy to move forward until the contractual issues are resolved.	Congress	708

			Go	vernment Relati	ons Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Manafort's			
Date(s)	(P, A, C)*	Company)	Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
10/9/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: Richard Gates	From	PM asks RG "I want to see a report from the US and Europe on what each PR firm is specifically doing on the pre-election GR plans/including work productThe report should highlight who is being briefed, importance of person, expectations, leave behinds. The more detail the better"		834
10/26/2012	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To:	From	PM tells "The new goal is to leverage this all into a call to VY on Monday congratulating him on having a good election. State will oppose this but State is on one side now with endorsement of the anti Jewish coalition." PM outlines aspects of strategy and tells to coordinate with Rick Gates.	US Presidential Administration	840
10/28/2012	С	DMP	From: To: Paul Manafort	То	PM suggests talking points for to the campaign in order to encourage him to call President Yanukovych over Ukraine elections. Confirms he reached out. "I just sent something to Chicago that will be going to"	US Presidential Administration	841

			Go	vernment Relati	ions Activity: Paul Manafort						
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Sender(s)/Recipient(s Manafort's							
Date(s)	$(P, A, C)^*$	Company)	Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit				
5/17/2013	С		From: To: Paul Manafort	То	provides PM a readout of Hapsburg Group member meetings with members of US Presidential Administration including , and discussions with them regarding Ukraine.	US Presidential Administration	852				
5/17/2013	С		From: To: Paul Manafort	То	provides PM readout of Hapsburg Group member meetings with members of Congress, and discussions regarding Ukraine.	Members of Congress	853				
9/6/2013	P		From: Paul Manafort To:	From	PM tasks and Gates to brief key members of Congress regarding Tymoshenko's appeal in Ukraine. "Rick you should use the channel to make certain that things are understood properly."	US Congressional members	860				
12/29/2013	P	DMP	From: Paul Manafort To: ; Rick Gates	From	PM e-mails article re Euromaidan protestors and tells "This ought to be pushed hard, especially with	US Congressional members; US State Department	869				
6/27/2017	С	DMP	Signatures: Paul Manafort; Richard Gates	Signed Registrant	NSD/FARA Registration	-	928				

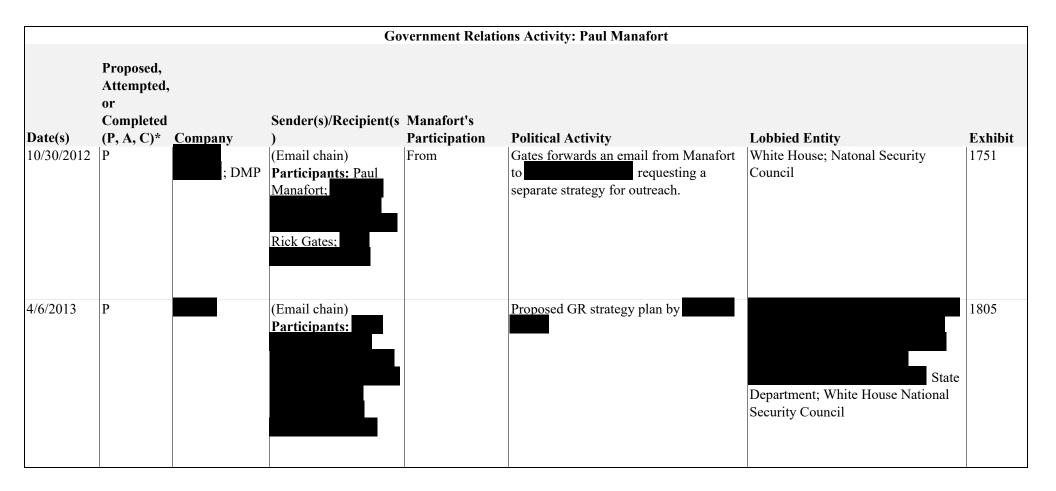


			Go	vernment Relat	ions Activity: Paul Manafort		
Date(s) 2/23/2013	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*		Sender(s)/Recipient(s) (Email chain) Participants:	Manafort's Participation Cc	Political Activity Email coordinating meetings for	Lobbied Entity White House; Congress	Exhibit 1316
2/27/2013	P	DMP	; Rick Gates; Paul Manafort From: Rick Gates To:	Сс	Gates provides priority meetings for	House; Senate; Senate Foreign	1320
			Cc: ; Paul Manafort		visit	Relations Committee	
2/27/2013	P	DMP	From: Friedman To: Paul Manafort; Konstantin Kilimnik	То	mentions updates from a; DC trip	political meetings	1321
2/28/2013	С	DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Paul Manafort Cc:	То	Gates provided talking point to re: meetings	-	1322
3/1/2013	С	DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Cc: Paul Manafort	Сс	Gates sends final meeting agenda for	-	1324
3/3/2013	С	DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Paul Manafort;	То	Gates provides positive updates on visit	All scheduled meetings attended	1326

			Go	vernment Relatio	ons Activity: Paul Manafort		
Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
3/5/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To: Paul Manafort:		anticipated meeting schedule		1327
3/15/2013	С	DMP	From: To: Paul Manafort Cc: Rick Gates; Konstantin Kilimnik	То	Sager sends memo summarizing trip to DC	-	1343
9/23/2012	P	DMP	From: To: Paul Manafort; Rick Gates;	То	circulates documents and an agenda for H-Club meeting. The agenda includes topic of "International Activity", where "GC" and "USA" are listed.	USA (entity not specified)	1374
12/6/2012	P	; DMP; ; DMP	(Email chain) Participants: Gates; Kilimnik; Manafort	Сс	Documents, including strategy plans, for SA report that have been edited by Manafort	-	1400

			Go	vernment Relatio	ons Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed		Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Manafort's			
Date(s)	$(P, A, C)^*$	Company)	Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
12/14/2012			From: To: Rick Gates	Referenced	Email titled "Government Relations Strategy - ECFMU)	Other primary targets are identified	1448
1/16/2013	С	; DMP	From: Rick Gates To: Cc:	(Memo) From	Gates forwards a memo from Manafort to Yakunovich re: US Congressional Resolutions H. Res. 27 and H. Res. 28, describing work		1453
3/14/2013	P		From: To: Rick Gates; Paul Manafort Cc:	То	Calendar update for meeting changes between Manafort and Congress		1482
3/18/2013	С	DMP	From: To: Paul Manafort	То	Memo to PM re: upcoming briefings, Q&A about ECFMU and a question about FARA.		1484

			Go	vernment Relat	ions Activity: Paul Manafort		
	Proposed, Attempted or						
Date(s)	Completed (P, A, C)*	Comp <u>any</u>	Sender(s)/Recipient(s	Manafort's Participation	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
3/18/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To: Cc:		Additional proposed DC meetings for Manafort	Lobbied Entity	1485
3/19/2013	P	DMP;	From: Rick Gates To:	Referenced	Read message confirmation for subject "Dinner/Manafort,		1488
6/4/2013	P		Calendar Organizer: Attendees		Meeting scheduled		1505
8/27/2012	P	DMP;	(Email chain) Participants: Paul Manafort; Rick Gates;	From	Email chain originating from Manafort to Gates regarding recommendation for VY to call after the DNC. Manafort requests Gates vet recommendation with		1679



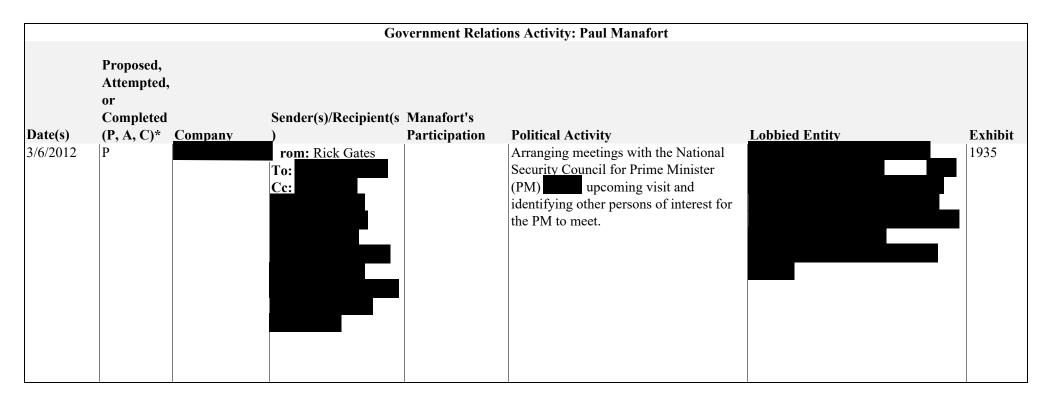


EXHIBIT 442

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
5/31/2007	Completed			Article RE: Yanukovych	Wall Street Journal	1018	Placed Article
5/15/2011	Proposed			Interview RE: Ukraine	CNBC	1029	
7/20/2011	Proposed			Set up blogs	Unspecified	1046	Recipient
7/21/2011	Proposed			Blog RE: Ukraine	CXSSR	547	
7/22/2011	Attempted			Online Commentary RE: Ukraine	Topix	1049	
7/22/2011	Proposed			Online Commentary RE: Ukraine	National Review	1049	
7/22/2011 GOVERN EXHI	Proposed			Online Commentary RE: Ukraine	Red State	1049	

		Public	Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or					Manafort
Date	Completed		Political Activity	Media Entity		Involvement
8/15/2011	Proposed		Op-Ed RE: rule of law / judicial reform in Ukraine	New York Times	1062	
8/24/2011	Attempted		Op-Ed RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	1065	
8/24/2011	Completed		Op-Ed of Yanukovych	Wall Street Journal	1068	Recipient
9/6/2011	Proposed		Op-Ed RE: Tymoschenko	Wall Street Journal	1070	Author
9/11/2011	Attempted		Interview of	Wall Street Journal	1066	Author
9/11/2011	Proposed		Interview of	Wall Street Journal	1067	CC'd; Referenced

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
9/18/2011	Proposed	Company	Lobbyist	Outreach RE: Ukraine	Time Magazine		Recipient
	1						1
9/18/2011	Proposed			Outreach RE: EU	Wall Street	1073	Recipient
				relations and energy	Journal		
9/18/2011	Proposed			Op-Ed RE:	Unspecified	1073	Recipient
				Tymoschenko			
9/20/2011	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	1074	Approver
9/21/2011	Attempted			Article RE: Ukraine	Wall Street	549	
					Journal		
10/12/2011	Attempted			Interview of	Wall Street	1075	Recipient
	_				Journal		
10/19/2011	Proposed			Interview of	Washington	1076	
					Times		

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Fyhihit	Manafort Involvement
10/19/2011	_	Company	Lobbyist	Interview of	Foreign Policy	1076	
10/19/2011	Proposed			Interview of	Foreign Policy	1070	
10/19/2011	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg BNA	1076	
10/22/2011	Completed			Outreach RE:	Wall Street	1077	Recipient
	1			Tymoschenko	Journal		1
12/17/2011	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg	1081	Recipient
					Television		(intended)
12/23/2011	Completed			Article RE: Ukraine	Red State	1082	Recipient
1/5/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Wall Street Journal	1083	
1/14/2012	Proposed			Blog RE: Ukraine	CXSSR	1084	Recipient

Public Relations Activity							
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
2/3/2012	Proposed		·	Interview RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	1088	Recipient
3/12/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg	610	
3/13/2012	Attempted			Article RE: Ukraine	Daily Caller	1091	
3/13/2012	Proposed			Article RE: Ukraine	Red State	1091	
3/13/2012	Attempted			Article RE: Ukraine	Red State	1091	
4/8/2012	Proposed			Public Affairs Campaign in the US and Europe	US media	569	Author
4/11/2012	Proposed			PR for in Europe and US	US media	570	Author
5/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Ukraine	New York Times	1616	

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
5/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Washington Post	1616	
5/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Foreign Policy	1616	
5/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Ukraine	NPR	1616	
5/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Bloomberg	1616	
5/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Reuters	1616	
5/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Christian Science Monitor	1616	

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
5/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Associated Press	1616	
5/17/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE:	Washington Times	1099	
5/19/2012	Attempted			Interview RE: Ukraine	Washington Times	578	
5/28/2012	Completed			Interview of	Bloomberg	581	
5/28/2012	Completed			Article RE: Ukraine	Washington Times	581	

			Public	Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
5/29/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE:	Washington Times	1100	
5/29/2012	Attempted			Interview of	Bloomberg Television	1100	
6/6/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	CQ Roll Call	1645	
6/20/2012	Completed			Blog RE: Ukraine	CXSSR	1103	
6/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Visit	NPR	1656	
6/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Visit	National Journal	1656	
6/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Visit	Washinton Post	1656	

			Publi	c Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
6/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Visit	Wall Street Journal	1656	
6/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Visit	Atlantic	1656	
6/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Visit	Foreign Policy	1656	
6/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Visit	New Republic	1656	
7/11/2012	Proposed			Op-Ed from	Wall Street Journal	1107	
7/11/2012	Proposed			Op-Ed from	Washington Times	1107	
7/12/2012	Proposed			Op-Ed from	"US political and biz establishment"	1110	

			Public	c Relations Activity		
D. 4	Proposed, Attemped, or	C		Dolitical Activity	M P E 44	Manafort E. 1.114 Involvement
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit Involvement
7/17/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg	1111
7/18/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	Foreign Policy	2062
7/18/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2062
7/20/2012	Proposed			Op-Ed from	(seeking placement)	1114
7/29/2012	Proposed			Op-Ed from	Wall Street Journal	1123
7/30/2012	Proposed			Op-Ed from	Wall Street Journal	1124

			Publi	c Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
7/30/2012	Proposed		v	Op-Ed from	Washington Post or CQ Roll Call	1125	
7/30/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg Television	1126	
7/30/2012	Completed			Op-Ed from	CQ Roll Call	1128	
7/30/2012	Completed			Op-Ed from	CQ Roll Call	1130	
7/30/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg Television	1130	
7/30/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Reuters	1130	

			Public	c Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
7/31/2012	Completed			Op-Ed from	CQ Roll Call	1131	
7/31/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg Television	1131	
7/31/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Reuters	1131	
7/31/2012	Attempted			Interview of	Bloomberg Television	1132	CC'd
7/31/2012	Completed			Interview of	Reuters	1132	CC'd
7/31/2012	Completed			Op-Ed from	CQ Roll Call	1134	
7/31/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg Television	1136	

			Public	c Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
7/31/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Reuters	1136	
8/3/2012	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg	1141	
8/7/2012	Completed			Interview with	New York Times	1674	
8/7/2012	Completed			Interview with	Wall Street Journal	1674	
8/7/2012	Completed			Interview with	Foreign Policy	1674	
8/7/2012	Completed			Interview with	Time Magazine	1674	
8/7/2012	Completed			Op-Ed of	Washington	1674	
8/7/2012	Completed			Interview with	Bloomberg	1674	

			Public	c Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
8/7/2012	Completed			Interview with	Reuters	1674	
8/7/2012	Completed			Op-Ed for	CQ Roll Call	1674	
8/30/2012	Proposed			Interview with	Wall Street Journal	1682	
8/30/2012	Proposed			Interview with	New York Times	1682	
8/30/2012	Proposed			Interview with	Washington Post	1682	

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
9/11/2012	Proposed	Company	Lobbyist	Interview with	Bloomberg	1685	
9/22/2012	Attempted			Interview of	Wall Street Journal	590	CC
9/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	Washington Post	1390	
9/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	The Weekly Standard	1390	
9/26/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	National Review	1390	
9/29/2012	Completed			Article RE: engagement with	CXSSR	1181	
10/2/2012	Proposed			US Media Outreach RE: Skadden Report	Bloomberg	515	Author

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Labbyigt	Political Activity	Modio Entity	Eyhihi4	Manafort Involvement
10/2/2012	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Outreach RE: Skadden Report	Media Entity New York Times	2102	Involvement
10/15/2012	Attempted			Article RE: Ukraine	Associated Press	519	Author
10/15/2012	Completed			Op-Ed from Hapsburg figure	Wall Street Journal	835	Editor
10/18/2012	Attempted			Op-Ed by	Wall Street Journal	1206	
10/24/2012	Proposed			Op-Ed from Hapsburg figure	New York Times	837	Proposes Article
10/24/2012	Attempted			Article RE: Ukraine and Clinton	New York Post; Blogs	838	Placed Article
10/24/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Diplomatic Courier	1433	

			Public	Relations Activity			
D. A	Proposed, Attemped, or		T 11 ' 4	Dolitical Activity		E 197	Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	1	Involvement
10/24/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Christian Science Manitor	1433	
10/24/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	National Journal	1433	
10/24/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Forbes	1433	
10/25/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Washington Times	839	Recipient
10/27/2012	Proposed			Meeting RE: Ukraine	Washington Times	598	
11/20/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: visit	Wall Street Journal	1439	
11/20/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: visit	Foreign Policy	1439	

			Public	c Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
11/20/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: visit	Bloomberg	1439	
11/26/2012	Attempted			Op-Ed for	The Hill	1759	
12/6/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	1402	
12/7/2012	Attempted			Article RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	1245	
12/8/2012	Proposed			Conference RE: Ukraine	Red State	1246	
12/10/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	1403	
12/11/2012	Attempted			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	1404	

			Public	Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
12/11/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2108	
12/11/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2109	
12/11/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2110	
12/11/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2111	
12/11/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2112	

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Labbyist	Political Activity	Madia Entity	Fwhihi4	Manafort Involvement
	_	Company	Lobbyist	_	Media Entity	1	Involvement
12/12/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2116	
12/12/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2117	
12/12/2012	Completed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	2118	
12/13/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	New York Times	1398	
12/14/2012	Proposed			Outreach RE: Skadden Report	Bloomberg	1772	

		Publi	c Relations Activity			
Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
Proposed	1 0	v	Op-Ed RE: Skadden Report	Wall Street Journal	1772	
Proposed			Op-Ed RE: Ukraine	New York Times or Foreign Policy	1772	
Proposed			Article RE: Ukraine	CXSSR	1312	
Completed			Article RE: Ukraine	CXSSR	1314	Recipient
Proposed			Interview of	Fox or CNN	1315	
Proposed			Op-Ed from	Unspecified	691	Author
	Attemped, or Completed Proposed Proposed Proposed Completed Proposed	Attemped, or Completed Company Proposed Proposed Proposed Proposed Proposed Proposed	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed Company Lobbyist Proposed Proposed Proposed Company Lobbyist Proposed Proposed	Attemped, or Completed Company Lobbyist Political Activity Proposed Op-Ed RE: Skadden Report Proposed Op-Ed RE: Ukraine Proposed Article RE: Ukraine Proposed Interview of	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed Company Lobbyist Political Activity Media Entity Proposed Op-Ed RE: Skadden Report Wall Street Journal Proposed Op-Ed RE: Ukraine New York Times or Foreign Policy Proposed Article RE: Ukraine CXSSR Proposed Interview of Fox or CNN	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed Company Lobbyist Political Activity Media Entity Exhibit Proposed Op-Ed RE: Skadden Report Sournal S

			Public	Relations Activity			
Data	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Commons	Labbadat	Dolitical Activity	Madia Endido	FL:L:4	Manafort Involvement
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity		1	1
3/1/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed for	The Hill	1323	Provides feedback
3/1/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed for	The Hill	1324	CC'd

			Public	Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
3/5/2013	Proposed			Interview of	CXSSR	1329	
3/10/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed for		1334	Recipient
3/12/2013	Attempted			Op-Ed RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	1274	•
3/12/2013	Attempted			Interview of	Bloomberg	1478	
3/14/2013	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg	1333	Recipient
3/14/2013	Attempted			Interview of	Time Magazine	1339	Recipient; "Thanks for
3/16/2013	Completed			Interview of	Bloomberg Television	694	Author
3/16/2013	Completed			Interview of	Blooberg Print	694	Author

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
3/16/2013	Completed			Interview of	Time Magazine	694	Author
3/19/2013	Completed			Article RE:	Bloomberg	1344	
3/20/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed for	Politico, Roll Call, The Hill or National Journal	1798	

			Publi	c Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
3/20/2013	Proposed			Interview with	Wall Street Journal	1798	

			Public	Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
3/20/2013	Proposed			Interview with	Christian Science Monitor	1798	
3/20/2013	Proposed			Outreach RE: visit	Daily Caller, Red State	1798	
3/20/2013	Completed			Interview with	The Hill	1798	
3/20/2013	Completed			Interview with	Foreign Policy	1798	

			Public	c Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
3/20/2013	Completed			Interview with	Time Magazine	1798	
3/20/2013	Completed			Op-Ed for	Christian Science	1798	
3/26/2013	Attempted			Op-Ed by	Christian Science	1277	
4/5/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed from Ukraine Government	Washington Post	846	Author
4/9/2013	Attempted			Op-Ed for	Unspecified	1808	
4/19/2013	Proposed			Interview RE: Ukraine	Bloomberg	615	
		_					

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
4/19/2013	Proposed			Interview RE: Ukraine	CNBC	615	
4/19/2013	Proposed			Interview RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	615	
4/19/2013	Completed			Op-Ed for	The Hill	1810	

			Public	Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	l .	Involvement
4/19/2013	Completed			Op-Ed for	Christian Science Monitor	1810	
4/19/2013	Completed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Washington Post	1810	
4/19/2013	Completed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	1810	

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
4/19/2013	Completed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	New York Times	1810	
4/19/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed for	Unspecified	1810	
4/19/2013	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine Energy	Washington Post	1810	
4/19/2013	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine Energy	Wall Street Journal	1810	
4/19/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed by "retired US Navy Admiral"	Unspecified	1810	

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
4/22/2013	Completed			Op-Ed from	"a significant publication in Washington DC"	616	Author
4/22/2013	Completed			Op-Ed from	Christian Science Monitor	616	Author
4/22/2013	Completed			Messaging RE: Ukraine	Washington Post	616	Author
4/22/2013	Completed			Messaging RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	616	Author
4/22/2013	Completed			Messaging RE: Ukraine	New York Times	616	Author

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
4/22/2013	Completed			Messaging RE: Ukraine	Bloggers	616	Author
4/22/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed from	Influential newspaper	616	Author
4/22/2013	Proposed			Op-Ed from a retired US Navy Admiral	Unspecified	616	Author
4/25/2013	Proposed			Op-Eds and Interviews RE: Intellectual Property Rights	Unspecified	698	Author

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
4/25/2013	Completed			Op-Eds from Hapsburg figures	Unspecified	712	Author
4/25/2013	Completed			Set up blogs	Unspecified	712	Author

			Public	Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
5/8/2013	Proposed			Meeting RE: Energy	Wall Street Journal	700	(last saved)
5/8/2013	Completed			Meeting RE: Energy	Wall Street Journal	703	
5/9/2013	Completed			Interview of	New York Times	704	
5/10/2013	Attempted			Interview of Ukraine Finance Minister	New York Times	1819	
5/16/2013	Proposed			Article RE: Tymoschenko	US media	851	Proposes Article
6/14/2013	Proposed			Article RE: US Congressman and Ukraine	US media	854	Proposes Article

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
8/16/2013	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	US media	858	Proposes Article
9/18/2013	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	CNN; NY Times	862	Proposes Articles
1/29/2014	Attempted			Op-Ed by	New York Times	1281	
1/31/2014	Attempted			Op-Ed by	New York Times	1280	Document incorporates some of PM's
2/4/2014	Attempted			Op-Ed by	New York Times	1284	"Send back to RG and PM"
2/4/2014	Attempted			Op-Ed by	New York Times	1285	"Still waiting for PJM approval"

			Public	Relations Activity			
Date	Proposed, Attemped, or Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Manafort Involvement
2/5/2014	Attempted			Op-Ed by	New York Times	1287	Additional paragraph was "an attempt to include some
2/7/2014	Attempted			Op-Ed by	New York Times	1288	
2/18/2014	Attempted			Op-Ed by	New York Times	1289	
2/20/2014	Completed			Op-Ed by	New York Times	1291	Recipient
5/19/2018	Attempted			Interview RE: Ukraine	CXSSR	578	
9/22/2018	Attempted			Yanukovych Statement RE: Resolution	Unspecified	591	Author

			Public	Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or						Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
9/23/2018	Proposed			Interview of	Wall Street Journal	592	
12/15/2018	Proposed			Interview of	Bloomberg Television	1080	Recipient
12/15/2018	Proposed			Interview RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	1080	Recipient
12/15/2018	Proposed			Online Commentary RE: Ukraine	Major DC Political Site	1080	Recipient
12/15/2018	Proposed			Set up blog	CXSSR	1080	Recipient
12/15/2018	Completed			Article RE:	Red State	1080	Recipient

			Public	c Relations Activity			
	Proposed, Attemped, or			·			Manafort
Date	Completed	Company	Lobbyist	_Political Activity	Media Entity	Exhibit	Involvement
7/1/2007 - 8/31/2007	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	New York Times	1019	
7/1/2007 - 8/31/2007	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Wall Street Journal	1019	
7/1/2007 - 8/31/2007	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Washington Post	1019	
7/1/2007 - 8/31/2007	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Forbes	1019	
7/1/2007 - 8/31/2007	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Fortune	1019	
7/1/2007 - 8/31/2007	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	Time Magazine	1019	
7/1/2007 - 8/31/2007	Proposed			Outreach RE: Ukraine	CNN	1019	

EXHIBIT 443

	Outreach to Congressn	nan Rohrabacher	
Date Pre Manafort/W	Event Veber/Rohrabacher Dinner Meeting	Summary	Exhibit
1/16/2013	Manafort memo to Yanukovych regarding US Congressional Resolutions - H.R. 27 and H.R. 28	"[w]e have reached out to We will brief his office and staff on the resolutions and ensure that they are not considered.	1453
1/24/2013	Email chain between the Office of and Paul Manafort's office; Subject: RE: Meeting with	Gates writes to - "Paul wants to setup a dinner among you, he and" office responds, cc Paul Manafort, " spoke to . and he agreed to a dinner with Paul and	1455
2/18/2013	Email from Gates to and Subject: Re: Deliverables	Gates states to and Staff (need to discuss with you - need you to meet regardless of the scheduled dinner)."	1784

	Outreach to Congressm	nan Rohrabacher	
Date	Event	Summary	Exhibit
2/19/2013	Manafort memo to Yanukovych regarding US Gorvernment Update	"The key subcommittee for Ukraine is the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia and Emerging Threats. The new is Congressman (a)."	605
2/25/2013	Email chain between Gates and the ; Subject: Re: Visit to US	Adjusting to schedule for visit; and included.	1469
2/28/2013	Email chain between Gates, ; Subject: Meeting	and Gates discussing setting up meeting for with	1946
4/27/2013	Email chain between Gates and Subject: Re: Update	states "We have circled back with Rep. office and the Congressman is unable to meet with before he departs"	1471

Outreach to Congressman Rohrabacher								
Date	Event	Summary	Exhibit					
3/6/2013	Email chain between Gates, the ; Subject: Re: Visit	Gates coordinating visit.	1477					
3/14/2013	Email chain between Manafort, Gates and Subject: FW: Manafort meetings on 19th	rearranging schedule for Manafort's meetings in DC which included a meeting with Congressman	1482					
3/18/2013	memo to Manafort; Subject: Briefs for March 19 Meetings	March 19 - 7:00pm dinner with Congressman, National Republican Club of Capitol Hill.	1484					
3/18/2013	Email chain between Gates and Subject: Briefing Materials for Paul	arranged meetings for Manafort to include Congressman	1485					
3/19/2013	Calendar; Subject: Dinner / Manafort, & & reservation under	Dinner with Manafort, and at National Republican Club of Capitol Hill.	1486					

	Outreach to Congressman Rohrabacher								
Date	Event	Summary	Exhibit						
Post Manafort/Rol	rabacher/Weber Dinner								
3/23/2013	Memo; Subject: US Consultants Activity – Weekly Update	"The meeting with Cong went well. He and I are building a plan to create a framework to promote positive interactions between the Govt of Ukraine and	695						
4/5/2013	Email chain between Gates and Subject: Re: EU Updates	Email to Gates that states " piece went out to: ,"	1947						
4/19/2013	Email chain between Gates, the and Subject: Re: Report	Gates states "Paul is meeting with the President on Monday of next week. We need to put together a quarterly report with all highlights Include key progress made, all relevant meetings (etc).	1810						

	Outreach to Congressman Rohrabacher								
Date	Event	Summary	Exhibit						
4/21/2013	Manafort memo Subject: US Consultants Activity - Weekly Update	"Key members of the USG and their staff that were briefed directly include:"	697						
4/25/2013	Email chain between Gates, the Subject: Update	Gates states "We need to add meetings with please take"	1939						
4/26/2013	Calendar; Subject: Call Rick Gates - two things see notes	"Rick now wants us to check with to see if he would be available for meeting with on the 8th as well"	1493						
4/26/2013	Email chain between Gates, the Subject: Re: Schedule Update	Gates states "Go ahead and reach out to the offices for"	1811						

	Outreach to Congressman Rohrabacher								
Date 5/10/2013	Calendar; Subject: Congressman he asks if you could give him a call Friday	Summary "Appears he met with Ukraine FM and we asked for his thoughts after the meeting, etc"	Exhibit 1498						
5/12/2013	Email chain between Gates and Subject: Re:	Gates asks if "Did we have anyone covering the meeting with I cannot remember but have no notes from it." responds "I spoke to after his meeting. Will discuss."	1499						
5/14/2013	Manafort memo to PM Subject: Washington, DC Visits –	"Meeting with Congressman Actions Visit two Congressional districts at the request of the members - Build an agenda to invite	705						

	Outreach to Congressman Rohrabacher									
Date 5/21/2013	Event Email chain between Gates and Subject: Re:	Gates asks in DC for in Ukraine. Gates states "Ideally, we get him in with staff from"	Exhibit 1417							
6/7/2013	Email chain between Gates, and the ; Subject: Re: Next visit	Gates asks if wants to meet with and states "is very important to Ukraine." replies that would be very interested.	721							
2/6/2014	Calendar; Subject: ECFMU Meeting with	appointment to meet	1945							

EXHIBIT 444

			Skadde	en Report Rollou	ıt	
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed			Nature of		
Date	(P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
5/16/2012	P		Outreach	E-mail		625
5/16/2012	P		Outreach	E-mail		625
5/18/2012	P		Outreach	Presentation	US media	1351
6/1/2012	P		Outreach	Memo	Associated Press -	1354; 2059
6/1/2012	P		Outreach	Memo	Reuters -	1354; 2059
6/1/2012	P		Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059
6/1/2012 GOVE	P		Outreach	Memo	Radio Free Europe -	1354; 2059

			Skadde	n Report Rolloi	ıt	
	Proposed, Attempted, or					
	Completed			Nature of		
Date	(P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
6/1/2012	P		Outreach	Memo	National Journal -	1354; 2059
6/1/2012	P		Outreach	Memo	New York Times - Moscow Bureau	1354; 2059
6/1/2012	P		Outreach	Memo	Washington Post (Moscow) -	1354; 2059
6/1/2012	P		Outreach	Memo	Bloomberg (Moscow) -	1354; 2059
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Director of Eastern and Strategic European Affairs at the NSC -	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		354; 2059; 1397

			Skadde	n Report Rollo	ut	
	Proposed, Attempted, or					
Date	Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Nature of Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Enerty Contacted	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397

			Skadde	en Report Rollo	ut	
	Proposed, Attempted, or			·		
Date	Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Nature of Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Zhuey Commerced	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397

			Skadde	n Report Rollout		
Date	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Nature of Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Entity Contacted	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397

			Skadde	en Report Rollo	ut	
Date	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Nature of Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Congressman	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Congressman	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Congressman	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Senator	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Senator	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Senator	1354; 2059; 1397

			Skadde	n Report Rollout		
	Proposed, Attempted, or					
Date	Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Nature of Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Senator	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Senator	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Senator	1354; 2059; 1397
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo	Senator	1354; 2059; 1397

			Skadder	Report Rollout		
Date	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Nature of Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 7/18/2012	P		Outreach	Memo	New York Times -	1354; 2059; 2062
6/1/2012; 7/2/2012; 7/18/2012; 11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Memo		1354; 2059; 1397
7/2/2012	P		Outreach	Memo		2059
7/18/2012	P		Briefing/General Outreach	Strategy Memo	US Media (5 outlets)	2062
7/27/2012; 7/28/2012; 8/27/2012	P	Skadden	Briefing/General Outreach	Strategy Memo	US Media	2065; 2066; 2074

			Skadden	Report Rollout		
Date	1	Company	Political Activity	1	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
8/30/2012	P		Briefing	Strategy Memo		1365
8/30/2012	P		Briefing	Strategy Memo		1365
9/21/2012; 9/23/2012	P	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Memo		2094; 1374
9/22/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo	US media	830
9/27/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo	Members of Senate and House	1726
10/2/2012	P		Briefing	Outline	Bloomberg News	515
10/2/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo	Eurasia Foundation	1387
10/2/2012	P	Gates	Briefing	Strategy Outline	Bloomberg News	1390
10/2/2012	P	Gates	Briefing	Strategy Outline	- Heritage Foundation	1390

			Skadden	Report Rollout		
	Proposed, Attempted, or			Ť		
	Completed			Nature of		
Date	(P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo	New York Times -	1977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo	Bloomberg -	1977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo	NPR -	1977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo	National Journal -	1977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		1977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		1977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		1977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		1977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		1977

			Skadden	Report Rollout		
	Proposed, Attempted, or					
	Completed			Nature of		
Date	(P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity		Entity Contacted	Exhibit
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		977
10/3/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Memo		977

			Skadde	n Report Rollout		
	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed			Nature of		
Date	(P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Document Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Briefing	Strategy Outline		1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Briefing	Strategy Outline	Bloomberg News	1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline		397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline		397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline		397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline		397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline		397

			Skadden	Report Rollout		
Date	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Nature of Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1397
11/20/2012		Guices		Sautegy Summe		1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline	Politico	1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline	Breitbart	1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline	Daily Caller	1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline	Washington Times	1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline	Townhall	1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline	American Spectator	1397
11/26/2012	P	Gates	Outreach	Strategy Outline	United Liberty	1397

			Skadden	Report Rollout		
	Proposed, Attempted, or					
T	Completed		B 11.1 1.4 1.1 1.	Nature of		77. A 49. A.
Date	(P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
11/26/2012	P		Outreach	Strategy Outline	Red State	1397
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398

			Skadden	Report Rollout		
	Proposed, Attempted, or					
	Completed			Nature of		
Date	(P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398

			Skadden	Report Rollout		
	Proposed, Attempted, or			•		
	Completed			Nature of		
Date	(P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Document	Entity Contacted	Exhibit
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/5/2012	С	Skadden	Outreach	Strategy Outline		1398
12/11/2012	P		Outreach	E-mail		1771
12/12/2012	С	Skadden	Briefing	E-mail		2117
12/10/2012; 12/11/2012; 12/12/2012;	С	Skadden	Outreach; Briefing	Phone Call; E-mail		1403; 2108; 2109; 2110; 2111; 2112; 1251; 2116; 2119;
12/5/2012; 12/6/2012	С	Skadden	Interview	Strategy Outline		1398; 1402

EXHIBIT 448

		Le	gislation		
Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
5/25/2012	C		Meeting (Inhofe Resolution)	Senate	1635
5/25/2012	P		Outreach (Inhofe Resolution)	Congress	1636
5/30/2012	С		Meeting (Inhofe Resolution)	Senate	1638
5/30/2012	С		Outreach (Inhofe Resolution)	(Senator Office)	1639

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
5/30/2012	C		Outreach (Inhofe Resolution)	Senate	1640
5/30/2012	С		Outreach (Inhofe Resolution)	(Senator Office)	1644
7/17/2012	P	Gates	Outreach (Smith Resolution)	US Congress	1672
9/14/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	(Senator Office)	1691

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
9/14/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	US Senators on Senate Foreign Relations Committee	1691
9/17/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Roll Call	1169
9/17/2012	A		Outreach (Inhofe Resolution)	Republican House Leadership	1695
9/17/2012	A		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	Congress	1695

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
9/17/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1695
9/17/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	(Senator Office)	1695
9/17/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1695
9/17/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1695

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
9/17/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1695
9/17/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	Congressman	1695
9/17/2012	С		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senate Foreign Relations Majority Staff	1697
9/17/2012	C		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	(Senator Office)	1698

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
9/19/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1172
9/19/2012	С		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1173; 1175
9/19/2012	С	Gates	Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator Chief of Staff	1308
9/19/2012	P	Skadden	Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1308

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
9/19/2012	A	Gates	Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1308; 1703
9/19/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1702
9/19/2012	P		E-mail (Durbin Resolution)	State Department	1702
9/20/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1708

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
9/20/2012	A		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1706; 1709
9/21/2012	С		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1712; 1713; 1718; 1719; 1723
9/22/2012	P	Gates	Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1719
9/22/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1712

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
9/22/2012	C		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1723
10/3/2012	C	Gates	Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1732
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744
10/18/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1744

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
10/18/2012	C		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	House Foreign Affairs Committee - Democratic Staff Members	1744
10/18/2012	С		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senate Foreign Relations Committee - Democratic Staff	1744
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	House Foreign Affairs Committee - All Members	1748
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	Senate Foreign Relations Committee - All Members	1748

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	Senate Leadership	1749
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	House Leadership	1749
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	Helsinki Commission Members - Congress	1749
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	Helsinki Commission Members - US Government	1749

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senate Leadership	1749
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	House Leadership	1749
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Helsinki Commission Members - Congress	1749
10/23/2012	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Helsinki Commission Members - US Government	1749

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
11/19/2012	C		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	Congressman	1761; 1448
11/19/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)		1761; 1448
11/19/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)		1761; 1448
11/19/2012	С		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	House Foreign Affairs Committee Members	1761

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
12/14/2012	P		Outreach (Smith Resolution)	Congressman	1448
12/14/2012	C		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1448
12/14/2012	С		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1448
1/16/2013	C		Outreach (Kaptur Resolution)	Congressman	1453

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
1/16/2013	C		Outreach (Kaptur Resolution)	Congressman	1453
2/13/2013	P		Outreach (Kaptur Resolution)	Congressman - Staff	1464
2/13/2013	P		Outreach (Kaptur Resolution)	Congressman - Staff	1464
2/13/2013	P		Outreach (Kaptur Resolution)	Senator Staff	-1464

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
2/13/2013	P		Outreach (Kaptur Resolution)	House Foreign Affairs Committee - Staff	1464
6/18/2013; 8/5/2013	С		Meeting (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1831; 1841
6/25/2013	P	Gates	Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1835
6/25/2013	C		Meeting (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1836; 624; 720

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
6/25/2013	C		Meeting (Durbin Resolution)	State Department	1836; 624
6/26/2013	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1514
7/10/2013	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Congress	708
7/11/2013	P	Gates	Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1838; 1839

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
7/25/2013	P	Gates	Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1840
9/25/2013	P		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Congress	1852
9/30/2013	C		Meeting (Durbin Resolution)	Senator	1853
10/8/2013	C		Meeting (Engel Resolution)	Congressman - Staff	1856

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 205 of 577

Date(s)	Proposed, Attempted, or Completed (P, A, C)*	Company	Political Activity	Lobbied Entity	Exhibit
11/20/2013	C		Outreach (Durbin Resolution)	Congressional Staff	1531
2/18/2014	A		Outreach (Menendez Resolution)	Senator	1545; 1546

		Legislation: Resolution	
Date	Person/Company(ies) Involved	Summary of Contact	Exhibit
9/14/2012	Gates	: "Has anyone talked with at the Committee?" employee writes "[W]e need to find members opposed to moving the resolution through the express lane - and being hot-lined A colleague of mine has been reaching into the committee to get intel."	1691
9/17/2012		to "With all due respect you too often question our requests by double-checking with Paul. You know I take of Yulia's case for bull-shit but I'm not sure the Bug [sic] Guy shares my view. Let's be frank, if Paul could stop resolution on his own we wouldn't have asked you to do something like this."	1167
9/17/2012		: "The Big Guy has given an instruction" to get reporting that Tymoshenko's alleged involvement in a murder be in "any paper that is read on the HillIt can be the Roll BellIt must influence the future of Resolution" response to "very bad idea."	1169

Date	Person/Company(ies) Involved	Summary of Contact	Exhibit
9/17/2012	ri di	Gates to : "Paul is meeting with President at 800am US time this morning. I need anything we have as updates regarding any resolution against including House/Senate schedules I need [to cover andto ask for the measure to [sic] carried over to the next meeting." Gates adds "We need to cover this base and think about lining up several who will put a hold on the measure."	1695
9/17/2012		employee e-mails , and Gates about discussion with : "I didn't have the opportunity to bring up the report as frankly I thought it too would be viewed as another stall tactic." employee forwards e-mail from on re the resolution.	1697; 169
9/19/2012		"Would it be possible to reach out to and ask him to make an early morning call to noted "Paul works through his channels and is sending the same messages."	1172
9/19/2012		to and "already spoke with	1173; 117

Date	Person/Company(ies) Involved	Summary of Contact	Exhibit
9/19/2012	Manafort; Gates	Manafort e-mails Gates and regarding talking points to share with re Tymoshenko case. Gates to and Manfort: "Message was delivered to and he is now aware." to Manafort: "I is delighted to speak to [sic] and try to calm things down." Friedman adds: "ALSO happy to speak to and ask hm [sic] to delay or tone down or stop the resolution".	1308
9/19/2012	Gates	Gates to "Please call office and pass along the notes below verbally. Let me know when you make contact." to Gates: "Left this message on his vmail asked him to call me back."	1703
9/19/2012	Manafort; Gates	Manafort to Gates: "Is calling Gates to Manafort: "He was supposed to talk with yesterday but I have not heard back. Trying to reach him. I will brief him on the other items and see if he can call as well."	1308
9/19/2012	; Gates	employee to Gates: "Rick, Just heard again from office that and intend to move the resolution. does not advise this but will NOT block it." to Gates: "Plan is and was find a senator who will put hold on it Seeing adds: " adds: "] has signed off on resolution."	1702

Date	Person/Company(ies) Involved	Summary of Contact	Exhibit
9/20/2012	Gates	employee to Gates: "] has a call into - don't think they have connected, yet."	1706
9/20/2012	; Gates	: "We just got off the phone with Rick, who asked taht I check with you re: possible conversation with He was wondering if you had anything worth sharing/reporting. Mentioned diaspora in Next steps: reaching out to again." replies: "Have call into	1709
9/20/2012	Gates	Gates e-mails with subject line "United Coal": " Here is the document on United Coal. Please get to The United operations are very big in and represent many jobs (I know not Ukrainian) but the investor is and he is making significant investments into the operations." asks "Do they have a pac. Have they done?"	1708
9/21/2012		staff discusses outreach to between 9/21 - 9/22. employee writes: "[released the hold. told me: 'That's why he called your boss back. was going to make us object on the floor and was taking it really personally, so we let it go."	1712
9/22/2012		to Gates, employees: "Spoke with 10 times tonight[.] Keep strong."	1719

Date	Person/Company(ies) Involved	Summary of Contact	Exhibit
9/22/2012	Gates	employees dicuss call with Rick Gates: "Nothing really discussed except that Rick will prepare alternative language in case we can't kill and are being asked what is acceptable to them."	1717
9/22/2012	Gates	Gates to "Here is an OpEd from two days ago written by former and former You may want to pass it along to Sen. "In reference to op-ed, replies to "Not sure" would have swayed making an enemy out of	1713
9/22/2012	; Gates	employee to Gates: "Rick. [resolution] just passed."	1714
9/22/2012	Gates	Gates to and "Any update on would not go to war with over this at last minute without a full understanding of facts and history."	1718

Date	Person/Company(ies)	Summary of Contact	Exhibit
9/24/2012	; Gates	Gates to : "Despite the outcome I want to thank you again for your assistance last week in attempting to defeat the	1724
		resolution On a separate issue, I have the coming down to DC for the day tomorrow [and] would like to setup two or three meetings for him." Gates	
		suggests "and "any of the"	
9/25/2013	Gates	Regarding another Resolution in 2013, employee states: "Rick wants us and team to find key fundraisers in Congressional districts where there a lot [sic] of Americans to press the Members to come out against and oppose legislation calling for her release. His	1852
		argument is that if you support her you are forcing into the hands of the	

CONFIDENTIAL: EYES ONLY

CREATION OF A SUPER VIP GROUP OF FORMER EUROPEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS AND VIP OFFICIALS TO ENGAGE IN PROMOTION OF VR ELECTION RESULTS AND UKRAINE INTEGRATION INTO EUROPE

1. Purpose

To assemble a small group of high-level European highly influencial champions and politically credible friends who can act informally and without any visible relationship with the Government of Ukraine.

The engagement of this group will be in two stages. The first stage is 2012 and will be informal in nature. The work in 2012 will primarily focus on the promotion of the importance of Ukraine to Europe, to push for the acceleration of integration of Ukraine and to engage in the process to ensure the recognition of the results of the 2012 VR elections.

The second stage in 2013 would channel this group into an independent NGO whose mission would be to work with the EU, European governments, NGOs and the government of Ukraine to hasten the integration of Ukraine into Europe.

The uniqueness of this group is in its composition of members who have the ability to engage at the highest levels and speak with authority in the media.

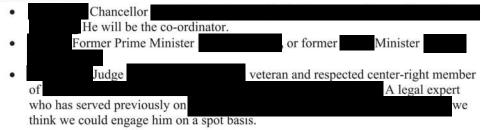
2. Mission

The principal mission of this group in 2012 will be to serve as a bridge between the main international election observer groups, OSCE and PACE, and the government of Ukraine. They would engage as ad hoc observers of the VR election process and could perform pre-election oversight of Ukraine compliance with the main conditions demanded by the European Groups to ensure a free and fair election. They can perform this work in a manner similar to the audit performed by Skadden, Arps.

Additionally, the members of the group, at our quiet direction, will provide commentary in the European media. write and publish occasional op-eds and appear at select conferences we will stage in Rome, Berlin, Paris, London or Brussels before and after the election.

3. Key Participants

The intention is to begin with a group of about 5 senior members. They would be approached by Chancellor and would work informally at his direction, in co-ordination with me, during the remaining 6 months of 2012. The list of potential members include:



GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.J.)
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4. Structure and Fees

Led by former Chancellor would act as an informal, independent group in 2012 and would form or associate with an existing NGO in 2013. The creation of this entity in 2013 would publicly be connected to the informal work that they did in 2012.

The informal and ultimately formal project will be managed by Chancellor in co-ordination with me.

The budget for the 6 months of 2012 would be E1,500,000. This would include travel expenses, administrative overheard, and retainer fees to all of the key individuals, speakers fees to VIPs who will appear at the conferences and election observer fees.

The budget for conferences will be created based on the purpose and logistics of the events. It is anticipated that we would do at least 2-3 such conferences in 2012 to promote the objectives of integration and election recognition. It is anticipated that a typical budget for a conference will be in the range of Euro20,000.

5. Next Steps

Chancellor on Sunday at the Euro 2012 football game in Warsaw. They will agree on their plan of action.

Upon approval of the project by Ukraine, they will commence work this week. This work will result in the outreach to the officials listed above and others. Once the group is organized, the specifics of a work plan will be created by the Chancellor and us.

ACTION: Approve and fund project by July 1.

To: From: PIM

Re: Program to Conduct Briefings of Embassies, Media and NGOS

Date: July 3, 2012

As we begin the formal election process it is important that we keep the international community briefed on the important election updates.

The opposition is already planting the seeds to claim that the election is unfair. Through regular briefings of the Embassy staffs, NGO offices and international media they are claiming that the PoR is using administrative resources to "steal the election".

We must get into these same channels to promote our positions and to listen to any of their criticisms to make it look as if we are being responsive to their concerns.

There are several types of briefings that we should organize. This memo seeks to identify these briefings, outline the types of issues which should be discussed and who should be meeting with the international community.

Administration of Election - CEC

The CEC should conduct a series of private briefings to update the international community on the progress of the election process. These briefings should be in addition to the regular public briefings of the CEC.

The private briefings should be directed at the key NGOs and Embassies in Kyiv.

Similar to the European tour that is making, these briefings would update the audience on the implementation of the election law. The details of the management of candidate applications, organizations of DECs, PECs and oversight of the election day activities should comprise the agenda.

Someone from the CEC should be designated to do these briefings in order to maintain consistency in reporting. The briefings will be very time consuming so the person designated should have the time to commit to this important function. Given that some but that is a decision that should be taken quickly.

The goal is to ensure that the audiences understand the election complaints as they are occurring and witness the solutions in real time. In this way, when the opposition approaches these same people to complain about certain violations, the audience is already educated and knowledgeable. This will allow correct assessments to occur in real time.



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Management of the Election Process - PoR

The explanation of why the PoR is going to win and how we are managing the campaign process is very important to communicate.

It is important that we maintain a frequent briefing schedule with the key embassies and opinion-makers (like AMCHAM, European Business Association, Kyiv offices of OSCE, World Bank, IMF, EBRD etc) on the election process. Each of the target audiences should be briefed at least twice a month.

Because these briefings need to be personal in nature to be effective, it is important that the person briefing be a part of the campaign leadership. Such people are The campaign should organize who of the 3 is best to brief what embassy or NGO or organization. Once the assignments are made, they should remain for the entire campaign.

There are 3 important components to these briefings.

First is the strength of our organization. By regularly demonstrating the growth of our local organizations, we must show how we are the only real political party and why we are confident that this organization can deliver the vote if among disillusioned former PoR voters. Without giving away secrets, we can and must flex our organizational advantages to these audiences.

Second is the rationale for why we are going to win. Again, without giving away campaign secrets, we must demonstrate a confidence in our winning the election. Through the use of public and private polls, we can demonstrate in a clear and convincing way how we expect to win control of the next VR. While some may not believe we are correct, the more that they hear it in private conversations, the more it will blunt some of the absurd rhetoric being promoted by the opposition.

Third is to use these meetings to raise our concerns about opposition abuses and violations.

Additionally, through these regular, private briefings we will hear complaints or concerns from the Embassies. Where possible, we should commit to addressing the complaints. Then we should follow through with correcting the mistakes where they are more mistakes of omission than commission.

There will be some issues, like access to media, that we should prepare statistics to refute at the appropriate time.

Co-ordination with the International Observer Groups - MFA

The Observer groups are a unique organizations. They need to be managed on a formal basis and occasionally on an informal basis.

The formal basis focuses on the invitations, registration and management of the observers. This role should be done by the MFA.

In many respects, the MFA is already interacting with the key organizations. We need to expand the interaction to being some subtle lobbying in addition to the formal registration roles.

One person should be assigned to deal regularly with OSCE, ODIHR, PACE and other key election groups. The agenda should be disguised as informative and administrative. But, in addition to these functions, we should be communicating important information demonstrating the fairness and transparency of the process.

Where there are issues which are raised, the MFA should send them to the appropriate place to be answered or fixed. Being competent and engaged will overcome many minor issues which, if left alone, might combine to create impressions that often are not true.

International Community

In addition to the audiences in Ukraine, it is important that we deal with the target countries in their capitals. The Brussels NGO that we have formed and their consultants are already engaged in the process.

As briefing materials are created for the domestic briefings they need to be transmitted to the international community for use.

Issues to Prepare for Briefings

The political briefings by the PoR should be prepared to include a number of topics in addition to the organizational advantages and reasons to expect victory.

The PoR briefers must be prepared to deal with issues such as the following:

- i. access to media equal for all parties show proof
- ii. harassment of officials prepare cases of opposition activity
- iii. difficulty to vote/pressure on voters or system
- iv. denying all parties equal access
- v. code of conduct to govern behavior of PoR organization in the VR Election process

The CEC and MFA should be prepared to brief on issues such as

- vi. implementation of the law without prejudice
- vii. organization of SMDs fairly
- viii. creation of PECs, DECs
- ix. processing and approval of candidacy applications
- x. protection of ballot

Conclusion

These roles and schedule should be organized immediately.

This master program must be organized and implemented by July 15.

A command and control center should be set up to manage all of these pieces in a coherent way.

Regular meetings of the key briefers for all groups should occur weekly to compare notes, identify issues and organize follow-up.

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Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 222 of 577

небольш просьба

From: Константин Килимни<u>к</u>

To:

Date: Wed, 11 Apr 2012 05:17:55 -0400 **Attachments:** ac update 4-9-2012.docx (113.97 kB)

Прив

Можешь это быстренько на русски сделать?

Спасибище

К



MEMORANDUM

To: VFY From: PJM

Subject: AC Project – Update

Date: April 8, 2012

This document provides an update on the public affairs activity that has occurred since the inception of the project a few weeks ago. It is my intention to provide you with a weekly update moving forward.

- The structure of the team has been finalized and the firms have already begun work in Europe and the US.
- We are using
 to cover Europe (Brussels, London, Paris and Berlin) and the US
 (Washington DC and New York)
- The firms have begun both political and media audits in Europe and the US
- Two key and time sensitive projects are underway
 - 1. VR Commission Report Interviews and roundtables throughout Europe over the next two weeks
 - 2. CPC public affairs campaign underway for releasing critical information on this reform. Press release going out as soon as legislation is passed evidencing that it is in line with European standards
- Other projects being worked on include a US congressional delegation to Ukraine in May, Euro 2012 media strategy for Ukraine, and work for the elections in October (international observers)
- Digital and Social Media Campaign this is underway with content being developed to reach more key audiences. New and enhanced websites are being developed as part of the campaign.
- Strategic Plans the consultants are finalizing their strategic plans for the next 6-months. This accounts for key decision makers in the EU and EC, and a global media campaign.
- Also, we now have in place daily news monitoring in all major cities in Europe and the US
- Kick-off meetings have taken place in Europe and the US the last week of March

×

Info

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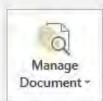
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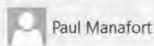
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MEMORANDUM

To:

Frome

MILE

Subject:

US Consultants Activity - Weekly Update

Date:

March 23, 2013

There are a number of key events this week, most notably the IMF delegation travelling to Kyiv. Our efforts in the last week have focused on a number of themes that have played well in the US and in Europe.

IMF Meetings

Our consultants were able to gather important intelligence from the IMF and the US State. Department, which is working in coordination with the IMF. The meetings were initiated on the part of the IMF, with the hope that another stand-by arrangement could be negotiated.

- Most importantly, the IMF is going into the meetings next week under no illusion that the GoU is going to reduce the consumer gas tariffs. From the IMF perspective it is still an open issue and will be raised in that context.
- The meetings are primarily a follow-up to their late January/early February visit during which. they were "somewhat encouraged" by those discussions about what Ukraine is willing to do re: economic reform.
- Next week's visit is to determine what specific steps Ukraine is willing to take to reach another. "Standby Agreement" with the IMF. All options are on the table and it is meant to be a dialogue on how to reach consensus if possible.
- Among other items, the IMF argues that gas prices need to be "more realistic" (given how heavily subsidized they currently are). It is an important part of what Ukraine needs to do and it will be raised again in the discussions.
- Ukraine must also devalue its currency and this will be raised as well.
- Bottom-line is the IMF hopes to see if the GoU is serious about making some long-term economic reforms - their concern is that the previous two agreements were suspended because of a "lack of follow-through" on the Ukrainian's part.

This meeting was important for several reasons and it came at a crucial time. My sources in the USG tell me that the meeting was construed as positive, and progress has been made in Ukraine but there is more work to do.

- The reforms on judicial reform have been noted and this is an area where the USG has made progress. Obviously, the US is not pleased (in their view) with the issue of selective justice in regards to YT and YL
- However, it was clear that in sending
 to Kyiv, the US wants to engage Ukraine.
- She clearly stated that the US opposes sanctions with Ukraine, and that the only way to move relations forward is to engage the GoU.
- One of the primary purposes of the meeting with VFY was to pave the way for an official meeting with This is a positive development. and

 In addition, VFY did a good job of framing the importance of EU integration, which the US fully supports and will promote through its resources.

Meeting with Congressor	nan
The meeting with Cong	went well. He and I are building a plan to create a framework
to promote positive inter	actions between the Govt of Ukraine and
Cong is open	minded on Ukraine. He is prepared to visit Ukr to gain more
	osed to sanctions and said he would not let the

Meeting with

s willing to open doors with the <u>Disapora</u> and NGOs to assist in the development of broader knowledge of what is happening.

It was suggested by both

that the promised funding by the Goyt of Ukraine for the Holodar Memorial in Washington DC would be a big deal to the Disapora.

News Articles

This week we directed the efforts of a number of positive news articles that appeared in several prominent publications and in the digital media space. These articles were done in tandem with key efforts we have been focusing on to emphasize the positive progress Ukraine has made on several key issues.

Below is the title of the article and which media outlets published the stories. The links to the full article's are also below for reference.

"International Finance Corporation Making Ukraine Better for Businesses, Says Yanukovych" – March 22nd

Story on the positive meeting between VFY and the IFC's CEO in Kyiv this week.

Major Publications: Wall Street Journal, Bloomberg, Reuters, Boston Globe, San Francisco Chronicle, Deutsche Presse Agentur, and Yahoo News.

http://www.marketwatch.com/story/international-finance-corporation-making-ukraine-better-for-businesses-says-yanukovych-2013-03-22

"Ukraine Opposition Surprises Supporters by Denouncing Gay Marriage" - March 19th
Story on demeaning statements by opposition leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk regarding homosexuality.

Major Publications: Wall Street Journal, Bloomberg, Boston Globe, and Business Journal.

http://finance.boston.com/boston/news/read/23725338/ukraine opposition surprises supporters by denouncing gay marriage

"European Praise For Kiev's Integration Efforts While Ukraine Opposition Earns A Rebuke" — March 15th

Story on Commissioner for EU Enlargement Stefan Fule's plenary session speech in Strasbourg

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 228 of 577

supporting Ukraine's quest for EU integration.

Major Publications: Reuters, Wall Street Journal, MSN Money, the Business Journal and Bloomberg.

http://investing.businessweek.com/research/markets/news/article.asp?docKey=600-201303150500PR NEWS EURO ND enUK201303147175 Publ-1

"US and Ukraine arm in arm on nuclear non-proliferation and EU Integration" – March 21 Story following the meeting between VFY and US of State Wendy Sherman highlighting successes of the meeting.

Major Publications: Google News (#1 story globally), Yahoo News (#3 story globally) http://www.prnewschannel.com/2013/03/21/us-and-ukraine-arm-in-arm-on-nuclear-nonproliferation-and-eu-integration/

"Ukraine Stands with Israel on Iran Nuclear Crisis" - March 19th

Story highlighting the positive relationship between Ukraine and Israel - article was published on the eve of President Obama arriving for his trip to Israel.

Major Publications: Google News (#1 globally within 7 minutes of release), WSJ, Bloomberg, WP, and Reuters.

http://www.prnewschannel.com/2013/03/19/ukraine-stands-with-israel-on-iran-nuclear-crisis/

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 230 of 577

From:

Sent: Fri, 28 Sep 2012 08:22:59 -0400 (EDT)

To:

Subject: Fw: eyes only Attachments: VY Memo -

You never saw this

- Forwarded Message From: Paul Manafort

Sent: Friday, 28 September 2012, 13:52 Subject: eyes only

Here is the result of my meeting yesterday. Pls keep to yourself only. don't circulate to anyone



EYES ONLY

To: VFY From: PJM

Re: Meeting in NYC with

Date: September 28, 12

Last night I met with for 2 hours to review both the contents of the Skadden Report and the report to that he will make on Oct 2. In this memo, I summarize our conversation and present some ideas based on the conversation.

Summary of Meeting

1. Skadden Discussion

I presented the key findings of the Skadden Report and focused on 2 points.

The first is that the Report states clearly that from a legal standpoint Tymo has not made the case against the President of selective prosecution and in fact her conviction was based on the factual record created in the trial.

Second, I indicated that most of the Due Process violations that she claims are rejected by the Skadden Report, and even the one issue where Skadden finds some merit (the 3 day period when Tymo was without counsel while witnesses testified), the root of the problem was caused by Tymo's behavior that would be found unacceptable in a Western Court.

seemed satisfied with the analysis and conclusions. He thought that the report would be a good foundation for the Report he was preparing which focused more on the political and humanitarian aspects of the situation.

2. Report Discussion

said his report will be a neutral report. He also said that he would ask to allow he and to continue working on the matter until the end of 2012. He felt that would agree and the would approve.

The contents of his interim report are divided into 3 sections.

Humanitarian This section deals with the medical treatment and

conditions on imprisonment. The findings in this report are neutral to positive. The access to medical treatment, access to doctors and outsiders are all

positively presented.

Legal This part of the report focuses on the changes

Ukraine has made to westernize its legal framework, especially the new CPC and the work on the Law of Prosecutors. The Report will indicate much has been done but more needs to be done and that the EP should assist Ukraine in this transition from a Soviet

style of law to a western rule of law society.

Selective Prosecution This is the more political aspect of the Report and the one that is still in flux. The Report will say that Ukraine is making some progress but there is still more to be accomplished. The Ivaneschenko matter will be positively referred to but the question of arbitrariness of the police will be highlighted

Next Steps

After we discussed the 2 reports, said that from his standpoint the critical timeframe is the period from Oct 28 to Nov 19. He stated several times that if there was going to be a solution this is when it must occur.

He highlighted this timeframe based of his understanding that when the new CPC comes into effect, almost 50% of people in prison today (and not tried yet) will be released pending resolution of their cases. His point was that this is the period when VY should provide a pardon to Tymo that frees her but doesn't remove the conviction, thereby prohibiting her to run for political office.

I made the argument that she would never accept such a pardon and that Europe would not see it as a solution. He disagreed. He said he felt that he and others could prevail on who has her own issues and wants to get Ukraine

When I asked what pre-conditions could be put in place, he was vague. It was clear to me that, at this point, this is his idea and that he does not have authority to negotiate from pr others yet.

I made it clear that the Tymo trial was not based on fear of her political standing and that in fact she was at 15% when the matter started and in the latest polls she is still at 15%. I also pointed out that every time VY makes a concession to Europe they "move the goal posts" and ask for more. I made the point that from my personal view, if VY is going to make a humanitarian gesture that supersedes the conviction, there must be a "greater good for Ukraine", meaning a breakthrough on the matters under consideration with Europe.

We dealt with these points for a while. said that he believed a part of the solution could be the implementation of the visa policy, rescheduling the EU-Ukr summit and prioritizing a number of bilateral issues.

To this approach and this timeframe offered VY a road back to Europe on a timetable that would enhance his Presidential re-election prospects. He was anxious to pursue the opportunity and we agreed to be in communication after his report is released next week. He expects to be back in Ukraine in about 2 weeks.

Conclusions

wants to help.

He believes that there is a path to a solution and based on what VY said to him, he believes that VY wants his help to find the solution.

He wants to meet with Andrey Portnov, based on VY statement that Porntov can help figure out the legal part of the pardon.

Beyond that he is looking for a sign from VY that he should put his prestige into forcing EU leaders to seek a solution based on a TYMO pardon but no political participation.

In the meantime, he agreed to help me sell the Skadden Report to the EU leadership. I asked him to stress the fact that the Skadden Report presents a legal analysis and that this analysis should be given weight. Furthermore, I indicated that if the Europeans embraced the findings it would make his "political" task more doable in that the mark against VY would be removed. He agreed to help.

EXHIBIT 852

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 235 of 577

From:

Sent: Fri, 17 May 2013 04:13:01 -0400 (EDT)

To:

"Paul Manafort"

Subject:

DC notes

Attachments: May 16th late .doc

Here ya go.



EYES ONLY

For: PIM	
From:	
Subject:	on May 16 ^u

- 1. Our friend accompanied his Prime Minister during the meeting on May 16th, as well as at the official luncheon. The twin-message from our friend to the U.S. officials he spoke with was "Don't Let the Russians Steal Ukraine From the West Cause it has Geopolitical and Strategic Value, and Don't Let One Legal Case Prevent Ukraine From Deeper European Integration."
- 2. Although protocol prevented the U subject from being inserted inside the more formal discussion at the was very pleased and called "very successful" his conversations on U with Congressmen (names to come) and with who he sat next to at lunch.
- 3. "We had very good meetings with and discussed many issues," said who added that "during the lunch I had a long talk about U with the and I made the points about not allowing this Tymoshenko case to damage the very valuable strategic and geopolitical of from getting U closer to Europe than to Russia. took detailed notes of what I was telling him, and seemed to agree with me on this."
- 4. "I had a very good talk with and we discussed how valuable U is for our regional security, and how wrong it would be to try and isolate this country because of one issue, and said to me "I absolutely agree. You are right." And we talked about what could be achieved through "engagement rather than isolation" and again he told me he fully agreed.."
- 5. Since was rushing, but will be in NY today (Friday) we agreed to speak again today, so happy to go over more details with him.

EXHIBIT 910

Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly
Public Affairs Company
Registration #3600
Section 5 Inspection
July 1986
August, 1986
September, 1986

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.J.)
910

emorandum



Subject Red Manafort, Stone & Kelly, Public Affairs Company Registration No. 3600 Section 5 Inspection

DateC: JB: HHH: ELP: TAR: djs

149-139-16

Typed: 12/3/86





During the months of July, August and September, 1986

conducted a Section

5 inspection of the Black Manafort and Stone registrations pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (hereinafter referred to as FARA or the Act). These inspections included four registrations; Black, Manafort and Stone, Inc. (#3415), Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Company (#3600), Paul J. Manafort (#3594), and Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater, Inc. (#3710).

This inspection report concerns itself with Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Company (#3600) (hereinafter referred to as BMSKPA). The inspection was conducted in order to verify that adequate disclosure has been made by the registrant pursuant to the disclosure requirements of FARA.

VC HRONO

- 2 -

BMSKPA is a public relations company which provides general public affairs and legislative counsel to its clients. BMSKPA initially registered under FARA on June 14, 1984 and at the present time it remains an active registration. The following list indicates the various foreign principals for which BMSKPA has been registered and is currently registered:

		Registered	Terminated
1)	The News Corporation, Ltd.	June 14, 1984	May 30, 1985 2)
Gov	ernment of the Bahamas	April 9, 1985	Active
3)	Government of Barbados	May 6, 1985	May 13, 1985
4)	Government of St. Lucia	May 6, 1985	December 18, 1985
5)	Government of the Dominican	May 6, 1985	July 3, 1986
	Republic		
6)	Government of Peru	September 16,	June 30, 1986
		1985	
7)	UNITA	October 16,	Active
		1985	
8)	Government of Nigeria	October 30,	Active
		1985	
9)	Chamber of Philippine	November 25,	February 24, 1986
	Manufacturers, Exporters	1985	
	and Tourism Association		
10)	Institute for Financial and	April 18, 1986	Active
	Fiscal Studies of Curacao		

INSPECTION

- 3 -

The inspection consisted of a review of the correspondence, office memoranda and financial records of the registrant and it encompassed the period of June 14, 1984 to the present. A review of the material revealed several deficiencies which must be amended, as well as many questions, some of which were resolved in the meetings of September 9, 1986 and September 12, 1986 between the inspection team and

AUSTRALIA

(NEWS CORPORATION LIMITED)

A letter dated April 26, 1984 to

periods ending December 14, 1984 and June 14, 1985.

from Charlie Black, proposed that the registrant would provide a plan and make arrangements for meetings and activities in Washington which would bring the foreign principal into contact with leaders of the Congress and the executive branch on a private basis, in order to increase their knowledge of and his organization. This activity was not mentioned on the letter of agreement dated June 1, 1984 which was filed with the Exhibit B, nor was this activity reported on the supplemental statements for the

The following correspondence to from Charles

Black, Roger Stone and indicates that the registrant

planned for meetings and activities in Washington, D.C. which would

bring the foreign principal into contact with U.S. Government

officials.

- 4 -

1- A letter dated July 2, 1984 to from Charlie Black, proposed meetings between and (to schedule the meetings they weren't able to do on June 28).

2- A memorandum dated May 23, 1984 to from Charlie Black and Roger Stone stated "Suggested Washington Opinion Leaders for you to meet in social setting"



"Suggested Reporters for you to meet in a social setting"



3- A memorandum dated December 3, 1984 to Charlie Black and from Roger Stone regarding status of assignments stated will visit Washington January 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22, 1984. We should attempt to set up meetings as follows:



4- A memorandum dated March 11, 1985 to from Charlie Black, Roger Stone and regarding update on communications issues stated "We are very anxious to get a day of your time . . . to schedule more meetings with leaders in Washington.



- 6 -

5- A memorandum dated April 15, 1985 to from Charlie Black, Roger Stone and regarding update on communications legislative activity stated "We are also anxious to get a date on your schedule to arrange another round of meetings in Washington."

If the registrant did arrange for the foreign principal to meet

with U.S. Government officials, and if they accompanied the foreign principal to the meetings which they arranged, the response to Item 12 of the supplemental statements for the periods ending December 14, 1984 and June 14, 1985 should be amended to report such activity. (We were advised during our meeting on September 30, 1986 with that only two meetings with U.S. Government officials actually took place. The registrant's participation in the meetings involved only introductions.

explained that the proposed meetings with the foreign principal did not take place because Rupert Murdock was very hard to contact.)

BAHAMAS

regarding Managing Information for Positive Press

Stories stated "Our involvement will be to collect, assimilate and make useable materials that the Government of the Bahamas provides to the "right" press individuals." If BMSKPA provided materials to press individuals, its response to Items 11 and/or 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report this activity.

- 7 -

2- A memorandum dated October 4, 1985 to from Roger Stone and regarding Press Strategy for the Commonwealth Conference October 16-22, 1985 stated "Structure a press interview schedule for the and Bahamian officials . . . Conduct informal meetings with press to explain key Bahamian issues." If BMSKPA conducted meetings with the press to explain key Bahamian issues, its response to Item 11 of the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement should be amended to report this activity. indicated during our 9/30/86 meeting that BMS&K did not conduct informal meetings with the press.)

3- If BMSKPA prepared or disseminated the press release dated November 13, 1985 entitled "Narcotics Control in the Americas", regarding November 20-22, 1985 First International Drug Symposium hosted by the Commonwealth of the Bahamas in Nassau, its response to Item 11 and/or Item 12 of the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement should be amended to report this activity. Dissemination report(s) should also be filed, if appropriate.

4- A memorandum dated November 19, 1985 to from P. Manafort and regarding U.S. Press Coverage of the First

International Drug Symposium (11/20-22, 1985) indicated BMSKPA instituted a media plan involving the production of a press package and the dissemination of this material to selected U.S. media. If BMSKPA produced and disseminated the press package, its response to Item 11 of the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement should be

- 8 -

amended to report this activity. Dissemination report(s) should also be filed, if appropriate. indicated during our 9/30/86 meeting that BMSKPA was involved in this activity.)

5- A memorandum dated December 30, 1985 from

to

regarding Public

Relations Strategy stated "BMSKPA will work with the government of the Bahamas to prepare and disseminate information concerning the Bahamas-Haiti Repatriation Treaty. Our plan is to alert the U.S. press and U.S. government to the Bahamian position and plan of action . . . We will prepare two separate information packets: one for the U.S. press and one for the U.S. government . . . materials to be disseminated to the press from a central contact point in the Bahamian government and that the government packets be distributed by

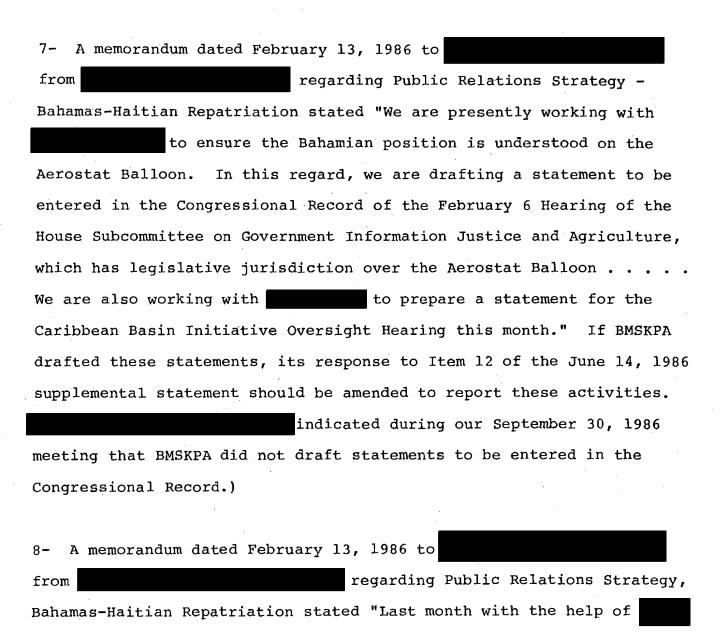
this information, its response to Item 11 and/or 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report this activity. Dissemination report(s) should also be filed, if appropriate.

regarding Public Relations Strategy Bahamas - Haitian Repatriation stated "Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly would work with BIS [Bahamas Information Service] to prepare the press release and press kits we would work with BIS to invite and recruit the Bahamian and Florida-based journalists to continue to relay the Bahamian perspective to the U.S. public we would work with BIS to identify and screen media teams for visits to the Bahamas." If BMSKPA prepared the

- 9 -

press release and press kits and identified and screened media teams for visits to the Bahamas, its response to Item 11 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report such activities.

indicated during our meeting on September 30, 1986 that BMSKPA did not engage in this activity, BIS did.)



we arranged for Channel 7 of Miami, an NBC affiliate, to

visit the Bahamas. We understand the trip was a most productive one.
The news special will be aired in March a national
network news program called plans to visit
Haiti within the next few weeks. We have discussed with them the
possibility of detouring to the Bahamas If approved, Black,
Manafort Stone & Kelly would work with to craft the
documentary". If BMSKPA arranged for Channel 7 of Miami to visit the
Bahamas and arranged for to craft a
documentary concerning the Bahamas, its response to Item 11 of the
June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report these
activities. indicated during our meeting
on September 30, 1986 that Channel 7 inquiries were referred to
documentary never happened.)

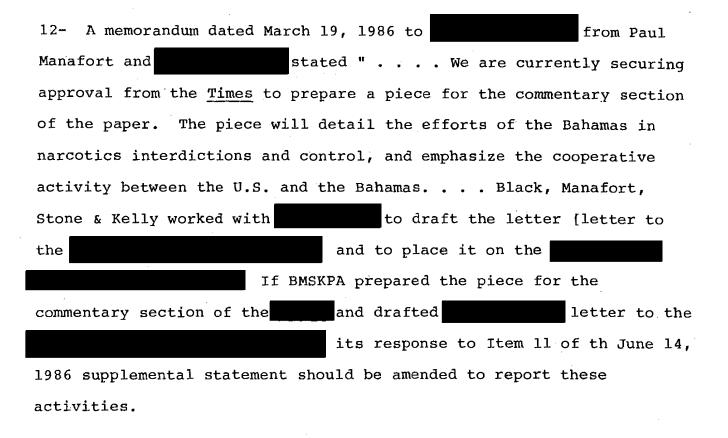
9- A memorandum dated February 21, 1986 to from BMSKPA regarding Activity Update - Legislative strategy targeted at the key subcommittees with oversight of Bahamian programs stated "We drafted a statement to be entered into the Congressional Records of the House Government Operations Subcommittee on Information that explains the Bahamian position on the second aerostat. We plan to meet with members of the committee next month and provide them with additional statistical information which emphasizes the value of a second and third aerostat We are presently working with

 the committee with information, its response to Item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report these activities.

A memorandum dated March 3, 1986 to from P. Manafort, regarding Bahamas-Haitian Repatriation Treaty stated "Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly is presently working with the Ministry of National Security Affairs to craft a statement for local TV and radio. The statement will explain the Government's legal rights and obligations to enforce the Treaty Proceeding the announcement, Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly will schedule carefully screened U.S. media teams to visit the Bahamas. We will arrange for the U.S. journalists to meet with both If BMSKPA drafted the statement for TV and radio, scheduled U.S. media teams to visit the Bahamas and meet with Bahamian Government officials, its response to Item 11 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report these indicated during our activities. September 30, 1986 meeting that Bahamas Information Office engaged in this activity.)

also stated " . . . will ensure that the needs, efforts and accomplishments of the do not go unnoticed with the U.S. Government . . . One tactic we have begun to employ is submitting official policy statements into the U.S. Congressional Record as with the aerostat balloon. Our

first step will be to enter the position of the Bahamas into the Congressional Records of the CBI hearings of the House Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee." If BMSKPA submitted official policy statements into the U.S. Congressional Record, its response to Item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report this activity.



13- A memorandum dated March 24, 1986 to from P. Manafort and regarding visit April 14-16, 1986 stated "To prompt such a declaration, [declaration of the Bahamas as North American Territory for the purpose of convention tax deductibility] we would arrange meetings for yourself with

If these meetings were arranged, the registrant's response to Item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report such activity.

regarding Haitian Repatriation stated "This document was sent to pertinent U.S. Government officials in both the Executive and Legislative branches to brief them on the Bahamian position. Specific constituencies targeted include

U.S. Customs, State Department, Department of Immigration, and the White House. Enclosure: "Illegal Immigrants in the Bahamas". If the registrant disseminated this document, its response to Item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report such activity and a dissemination report should be filed.

regarding recent activity in the Bahamas account stated "... and I have arranged for to invite the to Washington." If BMSKPA arranged for to invite to invite to invite to invite to washington, its response to Item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report this activity.

16- A memorandum dated April 9, 1986 to P. Manafort from regarding Talking Points for call to Bahamas stated "Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly has arranged a special congressional hearing

to provide the Bahamas with the opportunity to demonstrate its interest in continuing and improving joint U.S./Bahamian drug interdiction programs." (Although activities mentioned in notations 15 and 16 above are not specifically reported in Items 11 and 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement, these activities appear to be connected to contacts with

in Item 12.) If BMSKPA engaged in activities to arrange the congressional hearing, its response to Item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report such activities.

references a meeting regarding possibility of getting the more involved with the joint U.S./Bahamian drug interdiction program, encloses background piece, and legislative update regarding funding for the aerostat balloon program. (A letter dated April 29, 1986 was reported being sent to however, this contact does not appear to have been reported.) If BMSKPA contacted by letter dated April 11, 1986, its response to Item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report this activity.

18- A memorandum dated May 19, 1986 to Paul from regarding

Status of Aerostat Legislation stated ". . . In preparation for your

meeting with this evening, you should be aware of

the status of the potential legislative vehicles for the aerostat."

If this meeting took place, the registrant's response to Item 12 of

the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report this activity.

attached a draft letter to House and Senate Appropriations and Armed Services Committees (Chairmen and ranking minority members on each). If the registrant drafted this letter, the registrant's response to Item 12 of th June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report such activity.

20- A memorandum dated June 11, 1986 to from BMSKPA regarding National Security Directive stated "We plan to travel to the Bahamas the second week in July to discuss with you and your Administration the status of our Washington initiatives. During this same time period, we will be accompanied by the key Congressional staffers who are overseeing the Bahamas' programs in the Congress."

regarding Visit to Nassau stated "Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly will be accompanied by congressional delegation comprised of key House and Senate staff members who oversee Bahamas Programs in Congress -





If the registrant arranged for the trip of these key House and Senate staff members, its response to Item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement should be amended to report such activity.

22- In the supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986 and the dissemination report filed on June 11, 1986, it was reported that on June 10, 1986 the registrant sent a typed statement regarding compromise on drug interdiction air wing, and three newspaper articles regarding drug trafficking and drug interdiction to four public officials. The registrant should amend its response to Item 12 of the supplemental statement to disclose the names and titles of the public officials who were sent the above referenced materials.

BARBADOS

BMSKPA adequately disclosed the activities it engaged in on behalf of the Government of Barbados. No amendments are required to be filed for this foreign principal.

CURACAO

BMSKPA must provide this Unit with an explanation as to why did not file a timely short form registration statement.

The BMSKPA supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986 shows working directly on behalf of the foreign principal on April 10, 1986 however, a short form registration statement was not filed until July 29, 1986.

2- A April 18, 1986 note stating "[A]ttached is a draft of the proposed committee report language in connection with the branch profits tax, as we discussed. I am simultaneously giving this to for any comments or suggestions they may have. . . "BMSKPA must disclose in item 12 its role in the committee report language regarding no treaty override for branch profits tax in its supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986.

3- April 24, 1986 letters from with attachments regarding the tax bill were sent to

BMSKPA

must report this on its supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986. Furthermore, rather than a Section 4(e) label, this material should have had a Section 4(b) label and dissemination reports should have been filed with this Unit along with two copies of the material if it was disseminated.

4- A June 4, 1986 letter to staff from stated [e]nclosed is the material concerning the Treaty Override Provisions of the Senate Finance Committee Bill and the interests of our client. . " This contact should be reported

- 18 -

in BMSKPA's supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

- 1- The following correspondence between the registrant and the foreign principal indicates that the registrant's services to the foreign principal may have included the drafting of letters to be sent to U.S. Government officials by the foreign principal, and also the drafting of letters for U.S. Government officials to send to other U.S. Government officials concerning matters of interest to the foreign principal.
 - (a) A letter dated May 23, 1985 was sent to

 from regarding the draft of a letter to

 concerning the Dominican sugar proposal.
 - (b) A letter dated September 17, 1985 to

 stated "I will prepare a draft
 letter for your signature."

 expressing support for retaining 18% loan
 levels.)
 - (c) A letter dated October 22, 1985 to

 stated "I

 have enclosed for your review a suggested draft letter which

may wish to send to ______ and ____ The draft letter was regarding possessions tax credit (IRC Sec. 936) urging the committee to give consideration to adoption of a complimentary proposal that would allow presently idle funds on deposit in Puerto Rico financial institutions to be loaned for new investment and trade related purposes in the Caribbean region.

- an undated (possibly October 31, 1985) draft letter to extended an invitation to visit the Dominican Republic in the fall of 1985 or early 1986.
- e) Dear Colleague letter dated October 15, 1985, regarding sugar quota allocations.
- f) Undated draft letter to Mr. Chairman and Mr. Secretary from the Ambassadors of Caribbean countries to the U.S. concerning tax policy question of Sec. 936 of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code.

The registrant should amend its response to Item 11 and/or 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985 to report that they assisted the Government of the Dominican Republic in its efforts to obtain additional foreign aid assistance by drafting letters to be sent to U.S. Government officials by the foreign principal, and by drafting letters for U.S. Government officials to send to other U.S. Government officials.

2- The following correspondence between the registrant and the foreign principal indicates that the registrant's services to the foreign principal included the following contact with a U.S. Government official which does not appear to have been reported.

a- A letter dated September 17, 1985 to
stated "I had a conversation today
with
is extremely
concerned about the amendment on sugar that will be offered by
If the registrant contacted
this U.S. Government official, its response to Item 12 of the
supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985
should be amended to report the contact with
September 17, 1985.

NIGERIA

1 - BMSKPA must disclose their role in the October 23, 1985 letter to

This should be disclosed in item 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985.

does not have a short-form registration statement on file in the BMSKPA (#3600) registration, but indicated that had nothing at all to do with the memorandum even though his name appeared on it. This memorandum constitutes political activity and thus should have a short form under this particular registration.

3 - A November 1, 1985 memorandum to indicated that BMSKPA possibly engaged as a consultant to assist them in connection with their representation of the Government of Nigeria. A Nov. 12, 1985 memorandum suggests that did work and possibly is working on behalf of Nigeria and therefore should be registered under the Act. According to and arranged initial contact, but did nothing else. He only arranged to establish the contract.

4 - A November 11, 1985 memorandum to indicated the following

- 22 -

meetings/activities which should be reported in the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement.

a) met with on October 29 to discuss the Nigerian Peace Initiative, as well as P.L. 480 and the grant/purchase of wheat. The memorandum also stated that have continued their contacts with All such contacts should be reported in item 12 of the statement.

on the floor of the U.S.

Senate" on October 30, 1985. This contact as well as the subject matter should be disclosed in item 12 of the statement.

c) Meeting between

on October 31, 1985. Although the

contact was disclosed, BMSKPA should also
have disclosed the contact with Pitchford in item 12 of the
statement.

are now working on efforts to attract U.S. business investment in Nigeria."

This activity should be disclosed in item 11 of the statement and all political activity in connection with promoting investment to Nigeria should be disclosed in item 12.

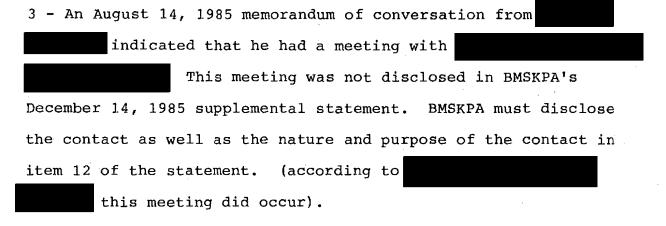
5 - A December 13, 1985 letter to	from Paul	
Manafort indicated that	and Manafort had discussed the	
possibility of Audifferen acting a	s a consultant with respect to	
Nigeria. Also, a December 20, 198	5 letter to Manafort from	
indicated that	is definitely somehow	
involved with Nigeria. According to		
nothing in the letter occurred and no agreement was ever signed.		

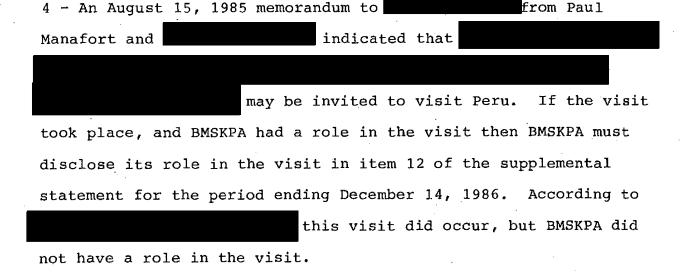
6- BMSKPA must disclose its role in the visit of to the U.S.

PERU

1 - An August 13, 1985 memorandum indicated that as of August 6, 1985 the Government of Peru was a client of BMSKPA. BMSKPA registered for Peru on September 16, 1985, over 30 days after Peru became their client. BMSKPA should provide this Unit, in writing, with an explanation as to why it violated the statute.

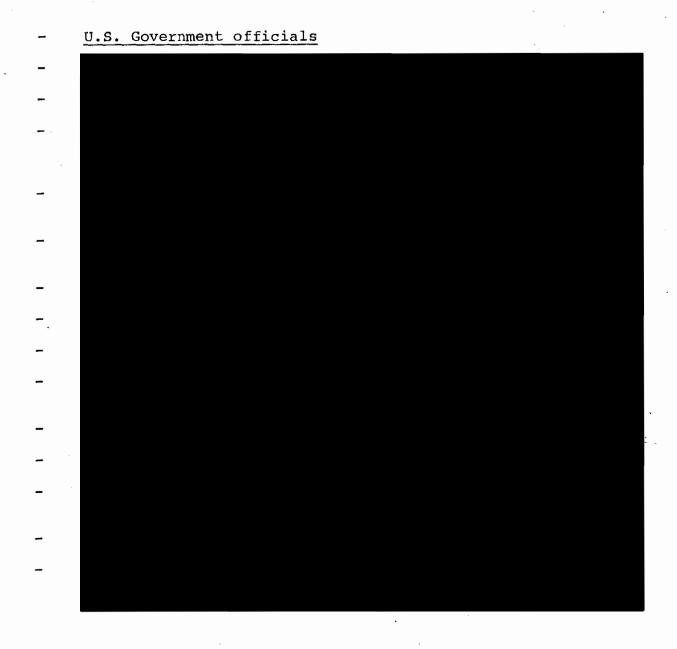
2 - An August 14, 1985 memora	ndum to	from Paul
Manafort and	suggested that BMSKPA	had
discussions with Agency for I	nternational Developme	ent officials
on behalf of Peru regarding P	eru's outstanding arre	arage problem.
This activity/discussions mus	t be disclosed in item	12 of the
supplemental statement for the	e period ending Decemb	er 14, 1985.





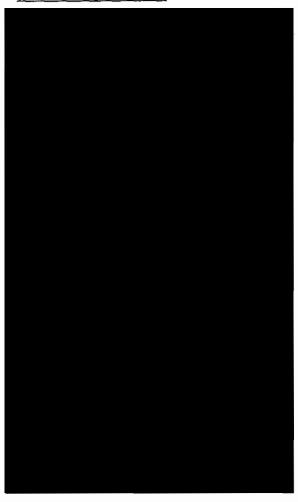
5 - A September 5, 1985 memorandum to from Paul Manafort referred to key U.S. Government officials, members of

Congress, and media markets, to be contacted by the Peruvian Embassy or by BMSKPA. The following contacts/persons referred to in the memorandum were not disclosed in BMSKPA's supplemental statement for the periods ending December 14, 1985 and June 14, 1986, however indicated that BMSKPA only suggested that these individuals be contacted and that the Embassy of Peru scheduled the meetings.

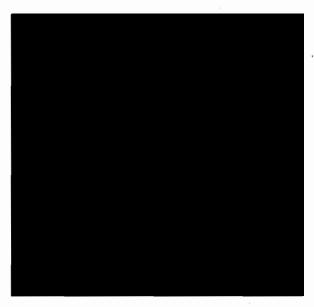




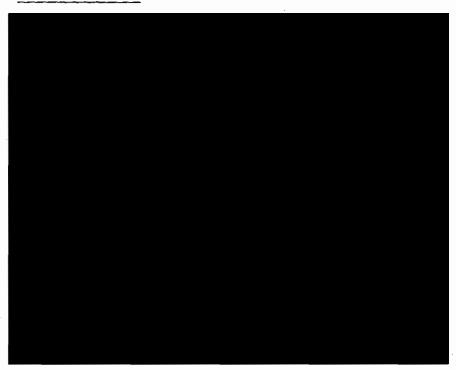
U.S. Congressmen



Page 27 of 83



Media Markets



Onited

Nations visit referred to in a September 17, 1985 memorandum to

This activity should be disclosed in item 11 and/or 12 of the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement. (The visit was also referred to in other memoranda).

7 - BMSKPA	must disclose	its role in the U.S. visit by
		referred to in a September 18, 1985
memorandum	to	from Paul Manafort and
	in items	s 11 and/or 12 of BMSKPA's supplemental
statement f	or the period	ending December 14, 1985.

- 8 A September 24, 1985 memorandum to from Paul Manafort regarding the activities of BMSKPA on behalf of Peru revealed the following activities which BMSKPA must disclose in items 11 and 12 of its December 14, 1985 supplemental statement.
 - a) Facilitated and accelerated the creation of a payment schedule by the United States Government of the obligations of Peru. (item 11)
 - b) Stopped the reprogramming of \$4.5 million of U.S. assistance to Peru during FY 1985. (item 11)
 - c) Contacted the major press mediums to give them background information. (item 12)
 - d) Developed talking points and important themes for the press conferences and press interviews (item 12 disclose activity and list contacts)
 - e) Maintained continued contact with the press.

- f) Organized private interviews with the <u>Cable News</u>

 <u>Network</u>, <u>USA Today</u>, <u>The Los Angeles Times</u>, <u>Newsweek</u>,

 <u>SIN</u>, and <u>The Washington Post</u>. (item 12)
- g) Notified 25 members of the priority press to ensure that they were present during the press conference (list in item 12).
- i) Worked with the Department of State and the Department of Defense to ensure defense funding for the education of the military. All such contacts should be reported. (item 12)
- from Manafort, discussed the September 22 and 23 press interviews with Newsweek, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, U.S.A. Today, CNN, SIN. BMSKPA must indicate its role in these interviews in item 12 of the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement.
- 10 A September 27, 1985 memorandum to Paul Manafort from stated "[a]ttached is a summary of the speech, an accompanying cover letter for

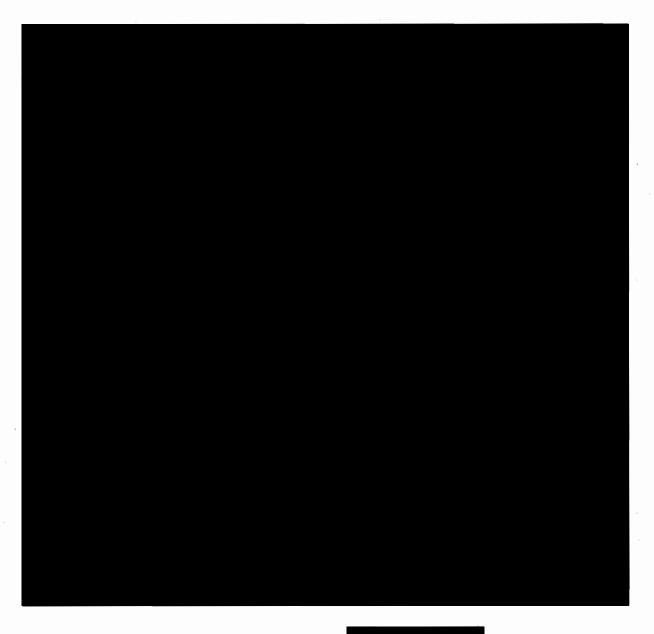
signature, and a list of key U.S. Government officials who are to receive this summary." BMSKPA must report their role in the speech in item 11 of the supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985. Furthermore, BMSKPA did not indicate that they disseminated any printed material on behalf of Peru. BMSKPA must provide this Unit with a copy of this material. If the material is considered political propaganda BMSKPA must file a dissemination report and disclose the activity and the names of the U.S. Government officials who received the disseminated material in item 12 of the statement and BMSKPA must also amend items 16-24 of the statement if indeed the material is considered political propaganda.

11 - An October 2, 1985 memorandum to from Manafort and stated that BMSKPA had conversations with Treasury officials regarding the annual meeting of the World Bank and IMF in South Korea and the shift of emphasis of debtor nations from austerity to economic growth. BMSKPA neglected to disclose any conversations with Treasury officials. BMSKPA must disclose all such contacts in their supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985. indicated that said he "doesn't recall any meetings or conversations.")

12 - An October 17, 1985 paper on the <u>Peru Aviation Issue</u> referred to seven key U.S. decision makers with respect to the issue of aviation. All contacts with the seven key decision

- 31 -

makers listed below should be disclosed in item 12 of the appropriate supplemental statement.



13 - A November 8, 1985 memorandum to from Paul

Manafort states that "Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly, Inc. has

communicated with

This contact must be disclosed in item 12

of the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement.

14 - BMSKPA must disclose in item 11 of the December 14, 1985						
supplemental statement, its role in the visit of						
to the United Nations as described in the October 3, 1985						
memorandum to from Paul						
Manafort. The following activities should be indicated in the						
disclosure.						

- a) Structured a press schedule.
- b) Prepared a list of talking points to be used by as he briefed the press.
- c) Offered advice on content of press kit.
- d) Prepared press announcement.
- e) Prepared press release for distribution to priority press (This may be political propaganda. BMSKPA must provide this Unit with a copy of the release).
- f) Developed individually tailored press package for television journalist (May be political propaganda. This Unit must be given a copy of the press package).

- g) Set up press interviews for with Associated Press, Reuters, The Washington Post, Washington Times, and the Los Angeles Times.
- h) BMSKPA's role in the meeting between

with respect to the S.680 hearings before the Trade
Subcommittee on September 12 and 13, 1985. Enclosed with the
letters were six copies of comments on S.680. BMSKPA must
indicate their role in the letter and comments in item 12 of the
December 14, 1985 supplemental statement and also must provide
this Unit with the the material if they disseminated it on behalf
of Peru. Dissemination reports may also need to be filed.

16 - BMSKPA should disclose their role, if any, in the <u>University</u> of South Carolina Conference on Progress Towards Prosperity"

PHILIPPINES

1 - A November 18, 1985 memorandum to Paul Manafort from mentioned the following activities which should have been reported in item 12 of the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement.



2 - A November 21, 1985 memorandum indicated that BMSKPA would prepare and distribute fact sheets and other information on the Philippines to Congress and the press.

stated that BMSKPA did not distribute any material whatsoever on behalf of this foreign principal.

3 - A December 3, 1985 memorandum to from

Paul Manafort indicated that would be interviewed by Time. According to BMSKPA did not arrange or have any role in this or any interviews.

4 - A December 11, 1985 memorandum to Paul Manafort from indicated that made three calls on behalf of the foreign principal which should have been reported but

were not reported in item 12 of the December 14, 1985 supplemental statement. The calls were to

supplemental statement BMSKPA indicated that they "advised the client with respect to U.S. media and press strategies with respect to the upcoming presidential election." This Unit found approximately 15 memoranda which indicated that BMSKPA advised the with respect to U.S. media and press strategies rather than the Chamber of Philippine Manufacturers, Exporters and Tourism Association. December 2,3,4,5 and 13, 1985 and November 18, 20, 21, 22 and 25, 1985. BMSKPA must make general statements in item 11 of the December 14, 1985 and June 14, 1986 supplemental statements setting forth its role with respect to the Philippine election.

- 5 An undated memorandum regarding "Upcoming Visit of U.S. Senators to Philippines" stated "... we have had discussions with regarding those interested in visiting the Philippines." All contacts and activity surrounding these visits should be disclosed in items 11 and 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986.
- 6 January 7, 1986 and December 31, 1985 memoranda indicated that U.S. journalists would visit Manila,

- 36 -

Philip	pine	s in	January	, 198	6. The	e jo	urna	alists	who	were	to
visit	the	Phili	ppines	were	listed	in	the	memora	ında:		

The

December 31 memorandum indicated that BMSKPA arranged these trips, however, indicated that BMSKPA had no role in arranging the visits. BMSKPA must disclose all of their activity/contacts in connection with these visits in item 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986 if they did indeed have a role in the visits.

- 7 BMSKPA sent letters on January 7, 1986 to the U.S. media. They must report this activity and the contacts with the press in the supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986.
- 8 A January 8, 1986 memorandum indicated that BMSKPA met with with respect to the Foreign Assistance
 Bill. This contact must be reported in item 12 of the June
 14, 1986 supplemental statement.
 indicated that this contact was reported however, in reviewing the file again this meeting was not disclosed on the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement.
- 9 BMSKPA must indicate its role in the January 20, 1986
 U.S. visit of Philippine

in a telephone conversation with of this Unit indicated that the following meetings were arranged by the Embassy and that BMSKPA only suggested that they occur:

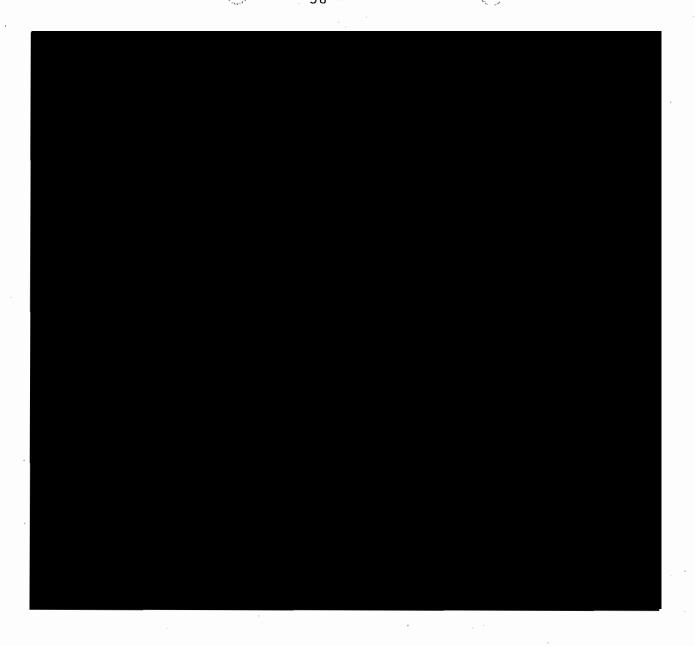
All contacts that BMSKPA may have had with respect to these meetings (ex. Paul Manafort coordination of the meeting) must be disclosed in item 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986.

10 - A January 20, 1986 memorandum as well as a schedule of activities indicated that the

would participate in media events/meetings.

BMSKPA must disclose the names of all media/organizations/
individuals they contacted with respect to the events/
meetings, as well as disclose their role in the events in
the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement. Following is a
list of the events which appeared in the January 20
memorandum and schedule of activities.



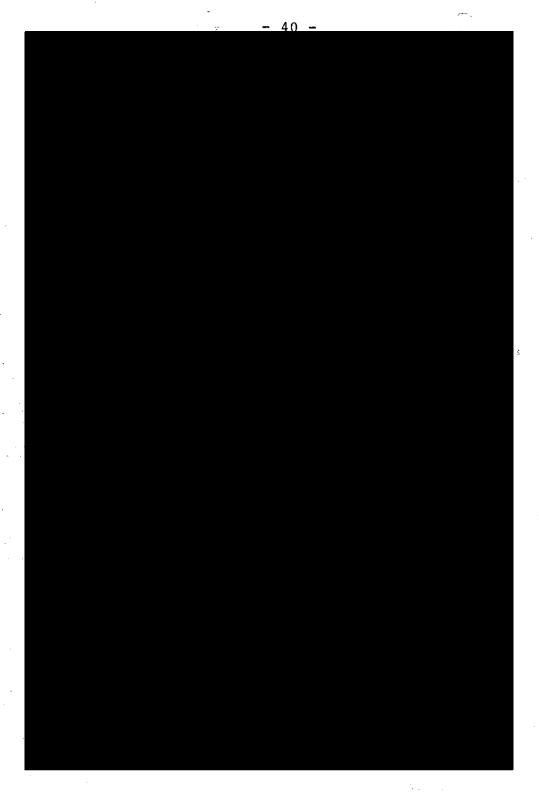


11 - A January 21, 1986 memorandum indicated someone from BMSKPA discussed with U.S. Government officials on January 22, 1986 the issue of the "... procedures that the Government of the Philippines has set in place to ensure free and fair elections on February 7, 1986." These meetings on January 22 were not disclosed in the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement.

- 39 -

12 - BMSKPA must disclose the names of all press organizations/contacts that it contacted on behalf of the Philippines. The following list of Philippine press contacts was found in BMSKPA's files.





13 - An undated list of meetings/activities indicated that someone from BMSKPA met with the following individuals; this activity should be disclosed in item 12 of the appropriate supplemental statement:

indicated in a telephone conversation with that BMSKPA merely suggested that the Philippine Government should meet with the individuals above).

14 - BMSKPA should disclose its contact and role with respect to the

This activity should be disclosed in item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement.

- 15 BMSKPA must disclose the particular legislation, for example HR 2582, that it lobbied for or against on behalf of the Philippines in the appropriate supplemental statement(s).
- 16 BMSKPA must indicate its role, as well as all contacts with respect to press interviews of Philippine government officials.
- 17 BMSKPA must disclose its role in any hearings which were held on the Philippines (i.e. obtaining witnesses, gaining press coverage, preparing testimony etc.)

ST. LUCIA

1 - An April 5, 1985 letter to regarding exchange of information with U.S.

Treasury Department stated ". . . St. Lucia would have a negotiating team selected and ready to begin deliberations in April of this year. I so informed the U.S. Treasury Department and they are expecting to begin serious negotiations in the very near future. . . advise me as to whether the Government still feels that these negotiations are worthwhile pursuing. . "I will be happy to play any role you deem advisable either as an integral part of the St. Lucia negotiating team or as a mere facilitator of your independent efforts. . . "

BMSKPA must indicate its role in these negotiations and must disclose all U.S. Government contacts made with respect to the negotiations.

2- An April 19, 1985 letter to regarding industrial development activity. If BMSKPA engaged in this activity it should be disclosed in item 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1985.

3- An October 3, 1985 letter to

indicated that BMSKPA would assist in arranging for the <u>Small Business Journal</u> to do a documentary on Caribbean economic prospects. BMSKPA must disclose its role in the documentary.

UNITA

1 - On October 15, 1985 wrote a letter to					
regarding visit to Africa and his					
debriefing with					
(letters and meeting) should have been reported in item 12 of the					
supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985 and a					
copy of the letter should be provided to this Unit. Furthermore, in					
the future, BMSKPA should place a Section 4(e) label on letters such					
as this one.					

- 2 An October 21, 1985 memorandum to from BMSKPA referred to the following activities which should have been reported in the supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1986.
 - a) BMSKPA worked with and other members of the House who sent a joint letter to urging that he provide material support to UNITA (This activity should be reported in item 12 of the statement).
 - b) BMSKPA contacted syndicated journalists as well as CBS
 News' 60 Minutes, The McNeil Lehrer Report, Newsweek and other
 major print and television outlets on behalf of UNITA. BMSKPA
 should list in item 12 each media organization and individual
 in the media that they contacted on behalf of UNITA.

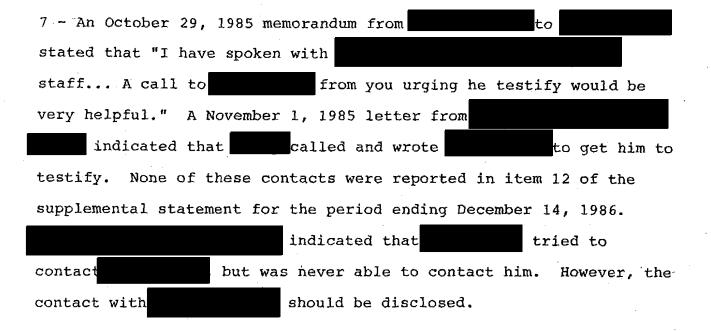
- c) BMSKPA assisted in improving the drafting and distribution of press releases.
- d) BMSKPA worked with private voluntary organizations and outside groups to collect humanitarian assistance for UNITA.
- regarding press coverage of UNITA. This contact, as well as all other such contacts should have been reported in item 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985.

 BMSKPA should also indicate their role in any television appearances made by Savimbi while in the U.S.
- 4 At the bottom of an October 25, 1985 memorandum to Paul Manafort from regarding UNITA was a message regarding hearings in Congress on Namibia and Angola. The message indicated that BMSKPA was to "...draft questions, get witnesses, etc." BMSKPA must report their role in the hearings and disclose the specific hearings in which they had a role. According to BMSKPA suggested witnesses. This should be disclosed in item 11 of the supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985.
- 5 On October 25, 1985 a packet of material was presented to

 This activity should be reported in item 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending December 14, 1985.

- 45 -

6 - BMSKPA must indicate its role in the hearings referred to in the October 25, 1985 memorandum from to Paul Manafort.

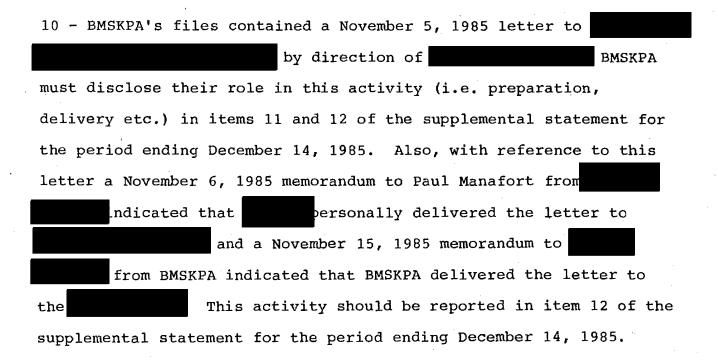


indicated that BMSKPA assisted in the preparation of press trips to Jamba. BMSKPA must indicate in item 12 of the December 14, 1986 supplemental statement its role in the trips and it must list the names of the press organizations and individuals contacted with respect to the press trips to Jamba.

8 - A November 1, 1985 memorandum to

BMSKPA apparently assisted in the preparation of press interviews of BMSKPA must indicate this activity as well as the name of the media organizations and individuals BMSKPA communicated with concerning the interviews. This activity should

be disclosed in item 12 of the December 14, 1986 supplemental statement.



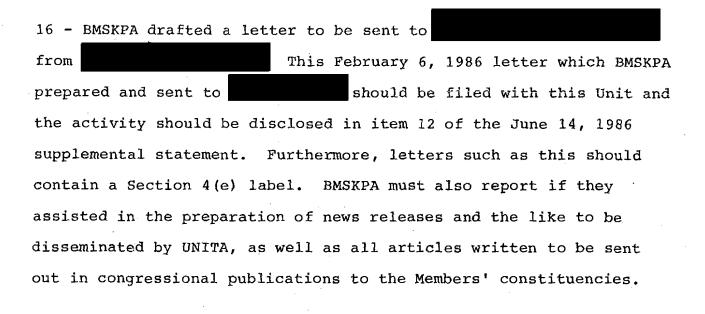
11 - A November 15, 1985 memorandum indicated that BMSK worked with Congressmen and Senators to get certain legislation proposed and passed on behalf of UNITA. This was also disclosed in BMSKPA's supplemental statement for the periods ending December 14, 1985 and June 14, 1986. It will be necessary for BMSKPA to indicate in each supplemental statement the name and subject matter of each piece of legislation which BMSKPA sought to be passed in Congress. The memorandum also indicated that BMSKPA had worked with Hill Staffers and members of Congress to organize and support two Congressional Hearings on the UNITA/Angola issue. This activity must be disclosed in the statements as well.

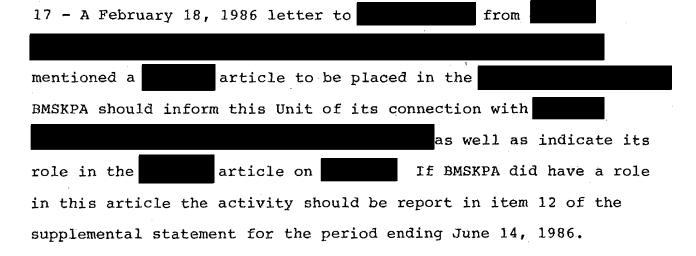
12 - BMSKPA must report the November 18, 1985 meeting with

13 - On January 9, 1985	sent a letter to
thanking her for her assistance	ce in arranging a meeting and interview
with	indicated that this why the
interview never took place.	letter

14 - On February 1, 1986 BMSKPA apparently hosted and/or participated in a dinner at the Grand Hotel. Many U.S. Government officials, as well as members of UNITA were present at the dinner. BMSKPA must disclose this activity in item 11 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement, as well as provide this Unit with a list of U.S. Government officials who attended in order that it may be placed in the public file. Furthermore, if there were any speeches made or any material distributed at the dinner the activity must be reported in items 11 and 12 of the statement and if BMSKPA paid for the dinners they should report it in item 15 of the statement indicated that the dinner was purely social & that no speeches were made).

15 - On February 1, 1986 and February 2, 1986 Savimbi appeared as a guest on "Evans & Novak" (CNN). BMSKPA must disclose their role in this activity and list all media contacts surrounding the interview in item 12 of the supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986.





18 - BMSKPA must indicate its role in the May 20, 1986 "Dear Colleague" letter and disclose the names of any Congressmen it was sent to by BMSKPA. The activity should be disclosed in item 12 of the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement and the names of any Congressmen it was prepared for should be listed in item 12 of the same statement (according to this Dear Colleague letter was not used).

19 - A June 5, 1986 memorandum to from BMSKPA referred to the following activities which should have been reported in the June 14, 1986 supplemental statement.

a) BMSKPA arranged for two U.S. based journalists to go to

Jamba:

All

media contacts relating to these press visits, as well as the
activity itself should be reported in item 12 of the statement.

(according to is a

free lance writer and made the trip on his own).

- b) BMSKPA also indicated that the journalist's articles were distributed to Congress along with a "Dear Colleague Letter." BMSKPA's role in this activity should be reported in item 12, copies of the articles and "Dear Colleague letter" should be filed with this Unit, the names of the Congressmen BMSKPA sent the material to should be listed in item 12, BMSKPA should have placed a label on all material that they disseminated and dissemination reports should have been filed if BMSKPA disseminated the material.
- c) BMSKPA indicated that it is in the process of arranging for

to go to Jamba. All media contact made regarding these visits prior to June 14, 1986 should be reported in item 12 of the statement.

- d) BMSKPA, under the Military Updates and UNITA Communiques section of the memorandum, indicated that they received a military update from Angola on June 2, 1986 and then they prepared and issued a media announcement. A copy of this announcement should have been filed with this Unit.
- e) BMSKPA indicated that material was entered into the

 BMSKPA

 must indicate its role in seeing that the material was printed in the
- memorandum, BMSKPA indicated that they had contacted concerning video footage and also regarding taking their own camera crews to Angola. BMSKPA must disclose this activity as well as indicate with whom it communicated in the media on behalf of the foreign principal. This activity should be described in item 12 of the statement.
- g) Under the <u>Press Activity</u> section of the memorandum BMSKPA indicated that they were involved in "... both initiating press interviews and <u>widely circulating</u> articles on UNITA." BMSKPA indicated that it had set up three interviews.

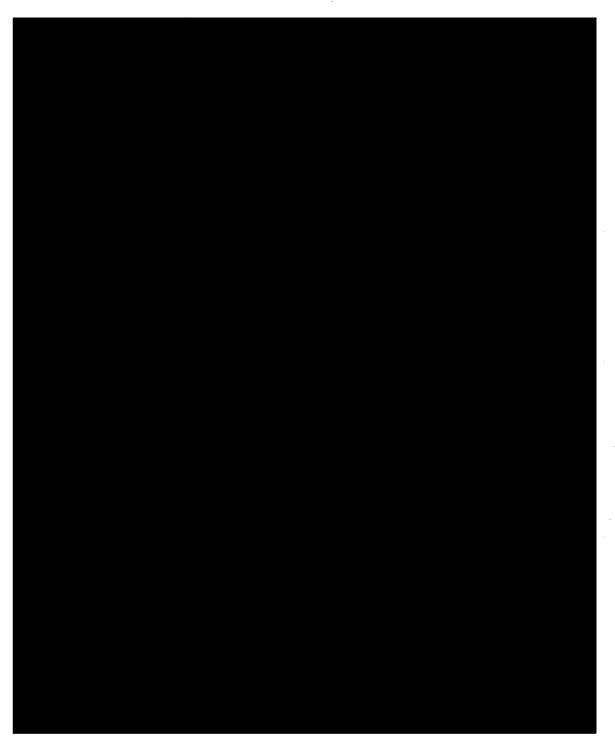
BMSKPA went on

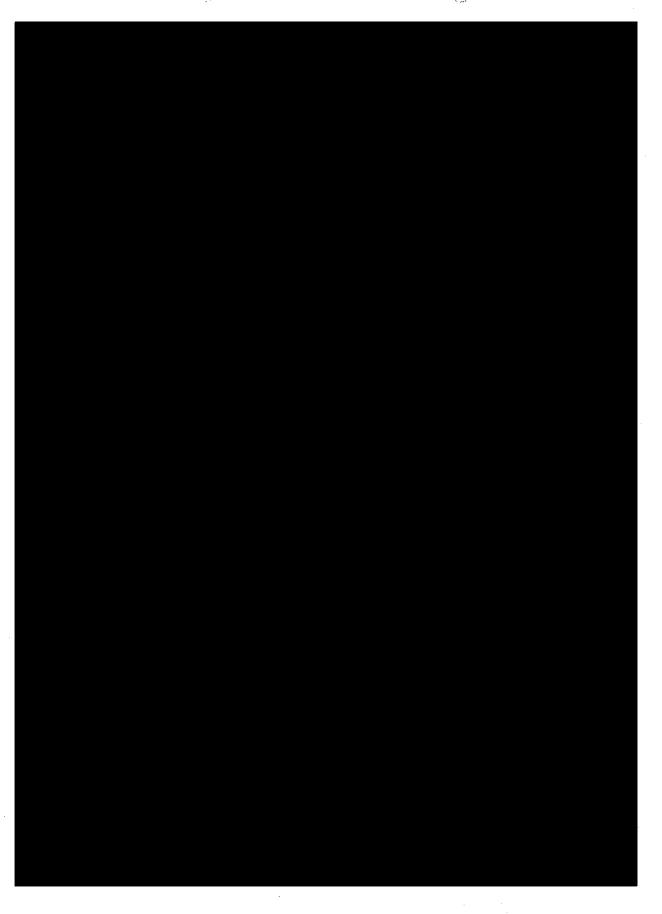
to say that "when an article is printed, we contact a member of

Congress to either circulate the article with a 'Dear Colleague Letter' or to enter the information into the Congressional Record." BMSKPA has not disclosed this activity. The names of all media contacts should have been listed in item 12 and the contact with the Congressmen with respect to all of the "Dear Colleague Letters" and articles, as well as the activity of having the articles printed in the should have been reported in item 12 of the statement. It will be necessary for BMSKPA to provide this Unit with copies of all "Dear Colleague Letters" that BMSKPA prepared. Section 4(e) labels should have been placed on all such documents.

- h) Under the <u>Information Preparation</u> section of the memorandum, BMSKPA stated that "[I]n our efforts to emphasize the legitimacy of UNITA, and the Soviet-Cuban threat to Angola, we have found it necessary to create the required information and then offer it to an outside source for circulation." This activity should be reported in item 12 and BMSKPA should indicate the "outside sources" which circulated the information. This Unit must be provided with the information which BMSKPA created for circulation.
- 20 The following list is a list of activities/press interviews/
 contacts/meetings which were not reported in the BMSKPA supplemental
 statement for the period ending June 14, 1986. All of the names of

the media organizations BMSKPA contacted as well as the names of individuals BMSKPA contacted should have been disclosed. BMSKPA should also have indicated its role in the activities in which Savimbi participated.







21 - All activity such as letters, op-ed pieces, articles, etc. which BMSKPA wrote on behalf of UNITA, to be disseminated by BMSKPA or by anyone else should be reported on the appropriate supplemental statements.

Furthermore, BMSKPA should indicate its position on all issues it discussed with U.S. Government officials and BMSKPA must make a

general statement of its political activities in item 12 of the supplemental statements.

Finally, BMSKPA neglected to file pages 6 and 7 of its supplemental statement for the period ending June 14, 1986.

FINANCIAL

This portion of the inspection report will serve as an audit report of the subject registrant's compliance with the financial reporting requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

SCOPE OF AUDIT

the books and records of the registrant as they relate to the Act for the period of June 14, 1984 through June 14, 1986. The examination was conducted in accordance with certain generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as were considered necessary in the circumstances.

OPINION

for reasons discussed in the recommendation section of this report, the registrant's financial disclosures as presented in their supplemental statements do not

- 56 -

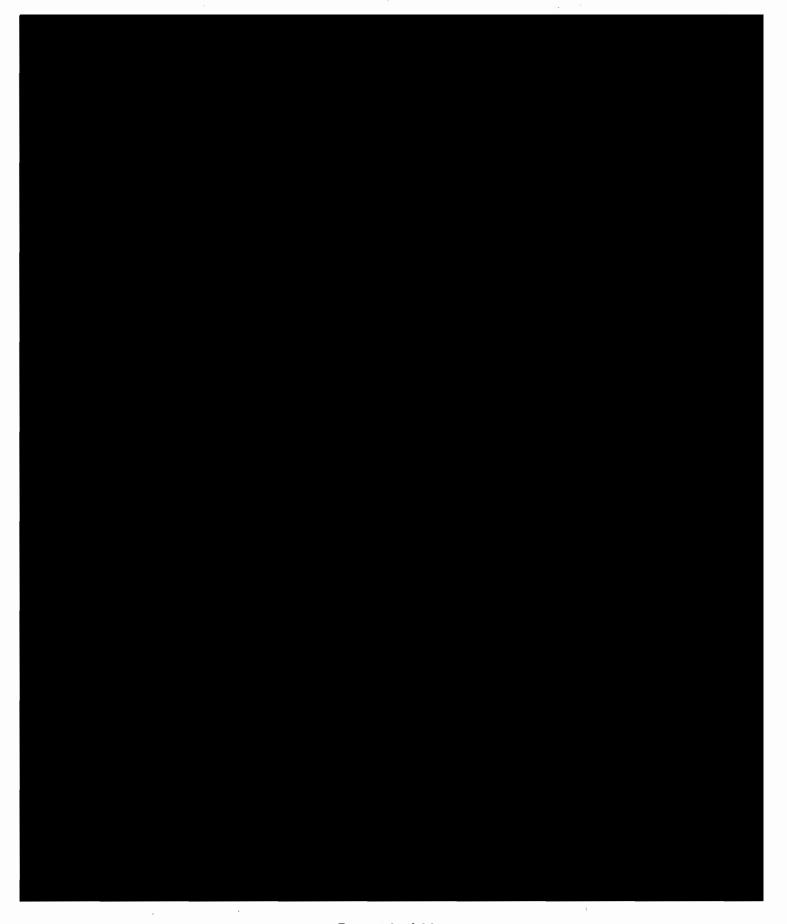
present fairly the financial activities of the registrant for purposes of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Black Manafort & Stone Public Affairs, Inc. (Registration No. 3600)

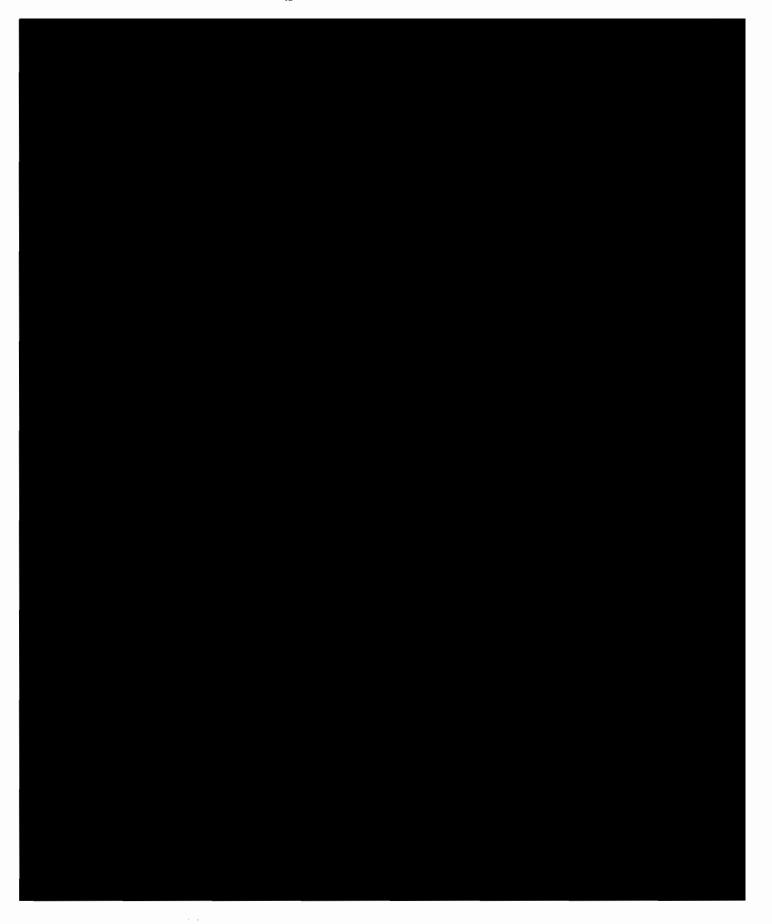
Receipts



- 57 -



- 58 -





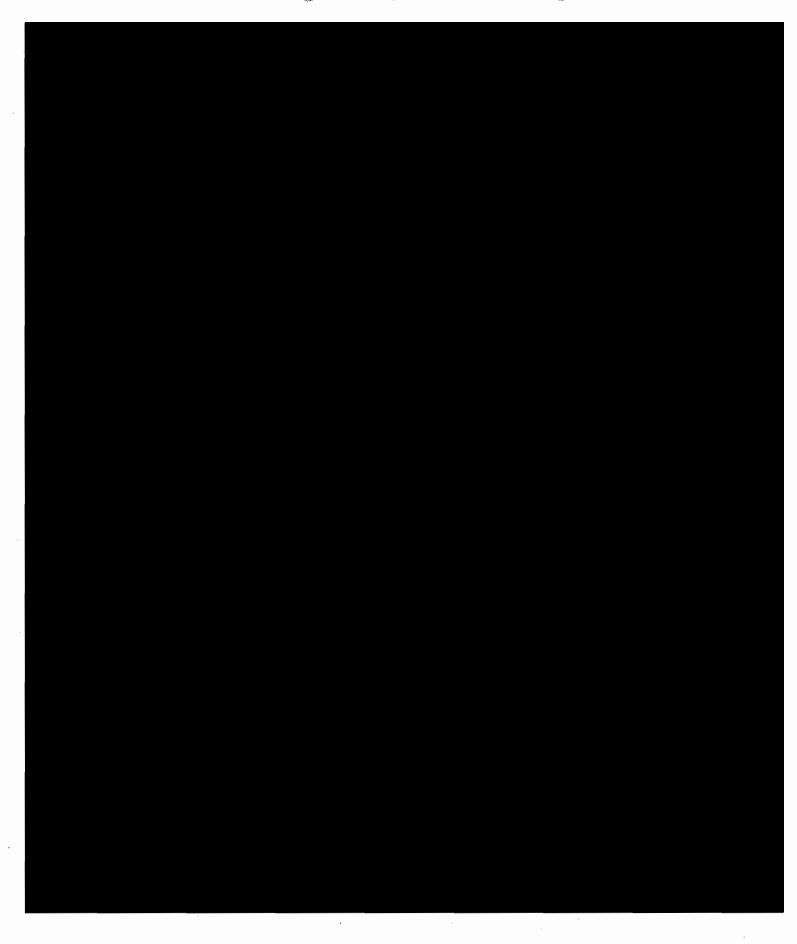


Appearing below is an analysis of the financial terms and conditions of the contracts between Black, Manafort and Stone Public Affairs, Inc. (Reg. No. 3600) and the firm's foreign principals, and the compensation the firm received as per the audit. The purpose of this analysis is to determine if the compensation received by the registrant remained consistent with the financial clauses contained in the contracts filed with this office. This analysis allows the audit to determine if funds were received by the registrant in addition to funds clearly set forth and receivable per contract, and thereby indicate the existence of an agreement between the registrant and the foreign principal not disclosed to this Office. This analysis also allows the audit to determine if the registrant was party to any agreement in which compensation was contingent, in whole or in part, upon the successful completion of any political activities.

It should be noted at this point that the books and records of the registrant as presented to the auditor did not contain any evidence of monies received in addition to monies receivable per contract, or monies received in violation of the contingency provision provided in Section 8(h), of the Act.

Black, Manafort and Stone Public Affairs, Inc. (Reg. No. 3600)

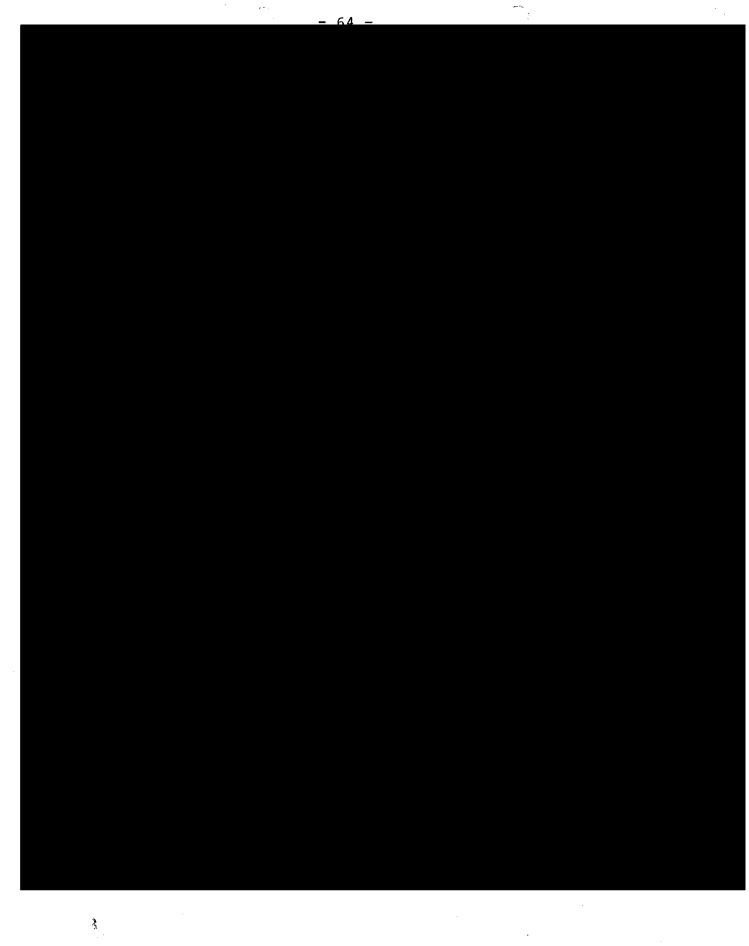




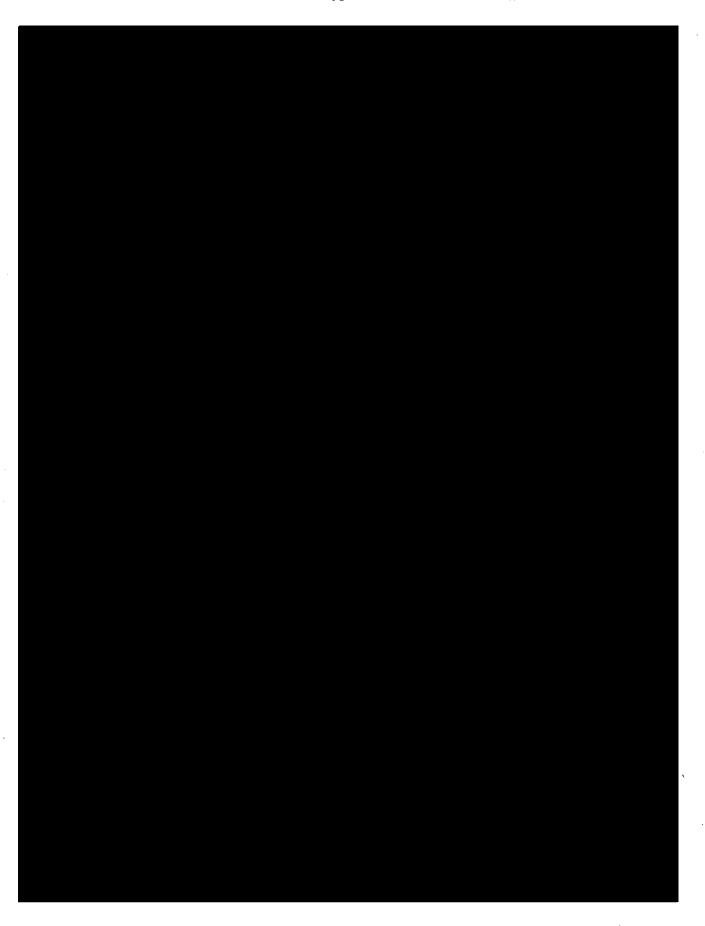


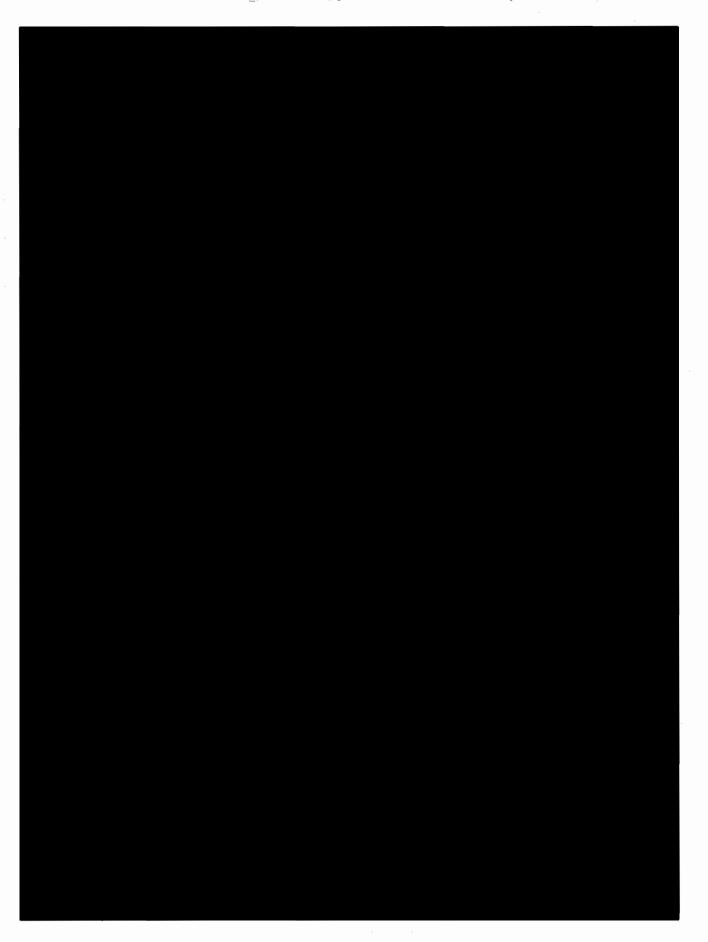
Page 63 of 83





Page 65 of 83







RECOMMENDATION

Based on the information contained in the registrant's filings and the inspection of the registrant's correspondence, office memoranda and financial records, BMSKPA did not adequately comply with the disclosure requirements of the Act. Therefore, BMSKPA must amend its registration where necessary. It is recommended that this Unit prepare a letter to BMSKPA setting forth the necessary amendments and to meet again with Nick Panuzio and Joel Dahnke to discuss the appropriate methods on how to amend the deficiencies in the BMSKPA registration.

Memorandum



Subject Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, Public Affairs Company Registration No. 3600 Section 5 Inspection

Day EC: JB: HHH: ELP: TAR: djs 149-139-16 Typed: 12/3/86

During the months of July, August and September, 1986

conducted a Section

5 inspection of the Black Manafort and Stone registrations pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (hereinafter referred to as FARA or the Act). These inspections included four registrations; Black, Manafort and Stone, Inc. (#3415), Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Company (#3600), Paul J. Manafort (#3594), and Black, Manafort, Stone & Atwater, Inc. (#3710).

This inspection report concerns itself with Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Company (#3600) (hereinafter referred to as BMSKPA). The inspection was conducted in order to verify that adequate disclosure has been made by the registrant pursuant to the disclosure requirements of FARA.

JEC:ELP:TAR:djs Typed: 5/7/87 149-139-16

MAY 29 1987

Plack, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Company 211 N. Union Street Alexandria, Virginia 22314

> Re: Paul J. Manafort Registration No. 3594

Dear

This is in reference to the registration of Faul J. Manafort (Manafort) pursuant to the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and to the inspection of his records conducted in accordance with section 5 of the Act.

The registrant must complete one set of amendment to registration statement forms in reference to each of the supplemental statement forms previously submitted, to detail activities undertaken and to adjust financial reporting as directed in the following paragraphs.

The activities noted below are, for the most part, activities which the registrant's correspondence, memoranda, etc., state have occurred, rather than proposed activities. If there are instances where the registrant is certain that the activity did not occur, the registrant must advise this office, in a separate letter (not on the amendment forms), that the specific event did not take place.

Note that detailed disclosure of political activities must include the identity of the persons involved, the date, place and nature of all contacts, and the purpose of the contacts. Folitical activities undertaken as background or to prepare for a proposal or a piece of legislation must be fully disclosed even though the proposal may have been subsequently delayed, the legislation may not have been reported out of Committee, etc.

The following issues must be addressed on the amendment forms.

- Roundtable member companies should lobby their Senators and "coordinate their efforts through the ad hoc 'Jerusalem Contact Group' which we can put them in contact

/--

with." Explain contacts with Roundtable, reference to "Jerusalem Contact Group," and interest in Jerusalem legislation.

- 2. July 13, 1984 memo to the "Jerusalem Contact Group" Regarding the status of Jerusalem legislation, states that one member of Congress can object to a suspension of the rules, and has a handwritten note that BMS should find that member. Disclose interest in Jerusalem legislation and all activities related thereto.
- 3. August 4, 1984 memo Manafort and Manafort and personally lobbled the offices of Report the dates, places and purposes of these contacts, and

identify the persons contacted.

- A. September 25. 1984 memo to Manafort Contacts with concerning amendments to the Terusalem Bill. Efforts with a group to write a minority report on the Jerusalem Bill, and references to "the loop on the Hill" and "the political White House stuff." Detail meetings with the members and with a group to write a minority report, and explain "the loop on the Hill" and "the political White House stuff."
- 5. March 6, 1985 letter to Manafort and Handwritten notes refer to efforts to include "politically oriented" language in the report being prepared on the Saudi arms package. A handwritten note to asked "Did we try to get this into report?" Reply "Yes through the usual channel. WB." Detail afforts to include the "politically oriented" language.
- 7. March 29, 1985 letter enclosing two articles to be passed on to or his staff. Were the articles given to Lugar, his staff, or anyone else?
- 8. April 23, 1985 memo Manafort to "... we are trying to persuade the White House to emphasize to the NSC the need to force the study to a conclusion. ... we have presented the anxieties which we have picked up in our conversations on Capitol Hill." Detail all White House and Congressional contacts.
- 9. June 14, 1985 memo Manafort and - Extensive accord quarter activities described, including contacts with the Administration and Congress, as well as activities on behalf of Jordan and their lobbying counsel. Disclose lobbying activities

with Congress, White House, State Department, Defense Department and other agencies, and detail activities in connection with Jordanian aid package and with Jordan's lobbying counsel.

- ll. Undated document "Latest State Department poop on Jerusalem"-Refers to Hill and followed by notation "BACK CHANNEL". All contacts must be reported.
- 12. Undated document

 attended meeting held by NAAA on Saudi Arms Sales. As a result the following is suggested as content for a telex to go out to Roundtable Members" (three paragraphs follow). Explain contacts with US/Saudi Roundtable (see paragraph #1), whether telex sent by Roundtable.
- 13. December 30, 1985 memo Manafort to Activities for the fourth quarter included communications with Congress and the Administration. All contacts must be detailed, including efforts to balance AIPAC lobbying. Registrant must report any connection with discussion with and activities undertaken on issues of discussion between
- 14. January 8, 1986 document The writer (unidentified) had lunch with and discussed Saudi Arabia, the Philippines and the Foreign Assistance Bill. No expenditure for lunch with was reported. Explain interest in Philippines and Foreign Assistance Bill.
- 15. April 25 and April 30, 1986 memos Manafort to Initiated grass roots campaign among home state supporters of certain Senators in connection with the Saudi arms proposal, and followed up on calls that haven't been made. Detail grass roots campaign, including the states involved.
- 16. April 25 and April 30, 1986 memos Manafort to and April 25, 1986 memo Manafort to the Intercontinental Hotel Refer to "talking points" which the registrant "provided". The Intercontinental memo had an attachment "Talking Papers for Telephone calls on Pending Saudi Munitions Sale." Were the "talking points" distributed to supporters of Senators (see paragraph 15), the White House, State Department or others?
- 17. April 30, 1986 memo Manafort to "I have had several conversations with on the arms sale. Their column

appears in todays ... and we are circulating it in appropriate places. Report contacts with skplain statement relating to column that registrant is circulating it in appropriate places.

18. Stene notebook, page 9 - A copy of the "Q&A" was left in and additional information on oil output was requested. Provide a copy of the "Q & A" and state whether it was given to anyone other than Nickels, and advise as to whether additional information on oil output was provided.

In addition, a comparison of the results of our audit of the registrant's books and records with the amounts reported on the supplemental statements disclosed the following discrepancies, which must be corrected on the amendment forms.



The response and questions concerning this inspection should be addressed to the attention of this office.

Sincerely,



Enclosures

©C §

Memorandum



Subject

Paul J. Manafort 18 U.S.C. § 219 Date

DEC 22 1987

JEC:FJC:djs

149-46-62

Typed: 10/15/87

To

From



INTRODUCTION

By letter dated May 16, 1986.

a United States Government
Agency, referred to this Division a potential violation of 18
U.S.C. § 219 (Section 219) by a former OPIC director, Paul J.
Manafort, who had resigned that day. The basis of the criminal
referral was that while serving as an OPIC director from
October 21, 1981 to May 16, 1986, Manafort was also registered
under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended,
as an agent of several foreign principals. 1/

Section 219 provides in pertinent part:

Whoever, being a public official of the United States in the executive, legislative, or judicial branch of Government or in any agency of the United States. . . is or acts as an agent of a foreign principal required to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than two years, or both.

^{1/} After becoming an OPIC director, Paul Manafort filed short forms for the following countries: Bahamas, Dominican Republic, Nigeria, Peru and Saudi Arabia. He also filed a short form for U.N.I.T.A. and signed his firm's contract with the Philippine Manufacturers, Exporters & Tourist Association (PMETA or the Philippines). His firm also represented the United Bermuda Party, the News Corp. Ltd. (Australia), the Institute for Financial and Fiscal Studies of Curacao and the Governments of Barbados and St. Lucia.

Nothing in this section shall apply to the employment of any agent of a foreign principal as a special Government employee in any case in which the head of the employing agency certifies that such employment is required in the national interest.

Since Manafort's registrations do not contain any certificate from the White House that his employment was required in the national interest, there appears to be a literal violation of Section 219.

SUMMARY OF FACTS

Manafort became a director of OPIC in October, 1981. October, 1982 he simultaneously registered with the Justice Department as an agent of the Dominican Republic and recused himself from OPIC matters involving that country. In 1983 the White House made a policy decision not to certify the employment of any foreign agent as required in the national interest in the absence of an extraordinary emergency or extremely unique circumstances. Manafort attempted to convince the White House that his circumstances were unique on the ground that his firm, rather than he personally, was conducting the political activities for the Dominican Republic which required registration. Although he made some progress with this argument, and the Justice Department agreed that such a hypothetically uninvolved person need not register, in the end no one at the White House was willing to sign the certificate. However, Manafort was not required by the White House to resign his OPIC position at that time.

When Manafort's OPIC term expired, he began serving as a holdover director. During this period the record reflects that Manafort recused himself from a second matter, with a domestic client, which would have involved a conflict, absented himself from a third matter, involving his client, Saudi Arabia, and refused to get involved in a minor matter involving his client, the Bahamas, because of the appearance it would create. In the reappointment process Manafort disclosed all his foreign clients and the White House insisted that he resign as a foreign agent, which he did. Later, however, Manafort signed his firm's contract with PMETA, and was briefly quoted on their behalf in the New York Times, Time and Newsweek. Following some generally unfavorable attention in the media to this contract and to lobbyists generally, Manafort reregistered for a number of countries, and assumed a more active role in representing clients, but did not resign as an OPIC director. A CBS news report on conflicts highlighted the Manafort situation, and he resigned a few days later, the same day the criminal referral was made to the Justice Department.

THE FACTS

On October 20, 1981, Manafort took the oath of office as a presidentially appointed director of OPIC, following his confirmation by the Senate a month earlier. Approximately one year later, on October 5, 1982, Manafort simultaneously registered with the Department of Justice as an agent of the Dominican Republic and recused himself from OPIC matters relating to that country in a letter to OPIC President Craig Nalen. Linn Williams, then General Counsel at OPIC, later advised in a telephone interview, before departing for private practice in Japan, that when the matter of Manafort's representation of the Dominican Republic came up, that both a section 219 waiver and recusal by Manafort were considered as solutions to the problem, and that since the White House had some policy objection to a waiver, recusal was suggested to Manafort.

In 1983 the White House focused on the section 219 problem as a result of the controversy surrounding the activities of

As a result, a policy decision was made for the President not to certify the employment of agents as required in the national interest "in the absence of an extraordinary emergency or extremely unique circumstances."

On April 28, 1983, in accordance with this policy decision,

which directed her to notity Manafort to resign his status as an agent or his appointment would not go forward. Fielding then sent a memo dated May 10, 1983 to advising the Department of Manafort's prima facie violation. The memo stated:

When 18 U.S.C. § 219 was brought to our attention, the policy decision was made not to issue certificates to individuals who are or subsequently become registered agents in the absence of an extraordinary emergency or extremely unique circumstances. . . (therefore). . . (Manafort). . . is being notified by Presidential Personnel and advised that if he plans to continue as a registered agent his resignation is requested or his appointment is not going forward. (emphasis supplied)

However, the White House has no record that requested Manafort's resignation, and memo to never reached the Registration Unit.

On May 16. 1983. Manafort sent a letter to with a copy of his registration statement for the Dominican Republic, in which he argued that his unique circumstances should allow him to continue serving on the OPIC board. He stated:

- 4 -

"You will notice that the name of the registrant is Black, Manafort and Stone, Inc. I am listed as a Director and Partner of the firm." He continues "I hope this resolves the issue in a manner that will allow me to continue to serve on the Board of Directors of OPIC. If there is any further problems (sic), please contact me in order that we might resolve it expeditiously."

advised when interviewed that Manafort had heard about the Section 219 policy decision and was unhappy about it, and contacted him both because he knew him and because OPIC (permanent employees) were within his domain.

advised that the matter Manafort raised was beyond his competence to decide, so he sent it to the Counsel's office. On September 12, 1983 Fielding responded to Manafort's point in a memorandum to

This policy left open the status of a prospective appointee who is a member of a firm that is a registered agent but who himself does not perform any work requiring him to file an individual "short form" registration statement. (Justice) Department has concluded that so long as such a person is neither (1) listed on the firm's registration statement as being directly involved in activities in furtherance of the goals of the foreign principal nor (2) is on file as an individual registrant, then section 219 does not apply. If the prospective appointee is registered (in the firm's registration or individually), however, then he must either "deregister" and cease all activities on behalf of the foreign principal or withdraw from Government service consideration.

A November 29, 1983 memorandum from again emphasizes that "the above paragraph refers to Paul Manafort." The decision then was not to grant a waiver, but to force Manafort to choose between government service and his firm. However, again there is no record that Manafort was advised to resign before his term expired on December 17, 1983, and nothing more happened on the matter until after the 1984 election.

On June 4, 1984 Manafort registered for Saudi Arabia as a short form registrant under the name of his law firm, Paul Manafort. An inspection of the books and records of this firm revealed an August 4, 1984 memorandum that indicates Manafort personally lobbied some Senators on an issue for Saudi Arabia.

In January and February 1985 Manafort received form letters from Presidential Personnel and the White House Counsel congratulating him on his prospective reappointment and sending him copies of a personal data statement (PDS) and financial disclosure form, along with several pages of conflicts laws and regulations, but not including Section 219. On February 11, 1985 Manafort sent a PDS listing Saudi Arabia as a personal client and Barbados, the Dominican Republic and St. Lucia as clients of his firm. The White House could not locate a copy of this form, stating:

"We have been unable to locate the PDS which Mr. Manafort apparently forwarded in February of 1985. However, our computer records and our attorney interview memorandum indicate we did receive such a document."

On March 25, 1985 made some handwritten notes about a discussion he had with about the Manafort appointment and the waiver issue. According to the "original deal" was that Manafort would serve as OPIC Director, and the waiver would be signed by However, declined and sent the for his signature; however, allegedly talked to Manafort and waiver to refused. of OPIC about this. On April 11, 1985 interviewed Manafort regarding his registering and acting as a foreign agent. Manafort indicated that his law firm registered for the Government of Saudi Arabia on July 4, 1984 and that his public relations firm registered for the governments of St. Lucia, Barbados and the Dominican Republic on October 5, 1982. Manafort told that while he is registered for various foreign clients he is not actively participating in the memorandum of this representation of the clients. interview, dated May 24, 1985, states that they discussed both the felony prohibition in Section 219 against simultaneously acting as a foreign agent and as a U.S. government employee, and the exemption for certified employees, and that "to the best of my (L.G.) knowledge, no such certification has been issued in regard to Mr. Manafort". He concluded:

"Since Mr. Manafort is listed on both of the aforementioned foreign agents registrations (his law firm and public relations firm), I requested that he remove himself from such registration statements notwithstanding his representation that he is not involved in representing the listed foreign governments. Mr. Manafort agreed to do so and further agreed to provide us written evidence of such "deregistration".

On May 29, 1985 the Tribune (Bahamas) gave a detailed treatment of the BMS&K registration. Manafort had registered for the Bahamas on May 1, 1985.

meeting with OPIC staff regarding sending an "investment mission" to the Bahamas. About a month later, on July 8, 1985, sent a memo to Manafort asked him to "get to tell" OPIC mission office to go to the Bahamas.

Manafort's handwritten note says "Can't do, bad perceptions". has confirmed through his that Manafort never approached him on the issue. On July 9, 1985 OPIC decided not to send an investment mission to the Bahamas, and BMS&K was so advised on July 10, 1985.

On June 4, 1985 Manafort terminated his short form for Saudi Arabia under the registration of his law firm, and on July 16, 1985 he terminated his short form for his BMS&K clients. On July 23, 1985 Manafort sent a copy of the amendment to the BMS&K registration to the but because there was no amendment terminating his agency for Saudi Arabia, thought that Manafort's individual registration for Saudi Arabia was still a problem. Consequently, Manafort's nomination was never processed.

On October 25, 1985 BMS&K began representing PMETA, a business association with close ties to the government which worked for his reelection. On November 22, 1985 the New York Times printed an article "Firm Registering as Lobbyist for Group Linked to Marcos", quoting Manafort as stating: "I'll be an advocate. . . on behalf of the issues of bilateral interest the (Philippine) Government cares about." On November 25, 1985 BMS&K registered for PMETA, but not Manafort. On December 6, 1<u>985</u> wrote up his version of the discussion he had with "last week" regarding "the Manafort reappointment". In it advised that Manafort was taking the position that his firm, and not he, personally, was an agent. threw some doubt on this interpretation of Section 219 by highlighting the "is or acts as an agent of a foreign principal" language from it. He reinforced this with his own conclusion to insist that Manafort recuse himself from "any matter affecting countries his firm is known to be representing." However, the issue, as at the time was:

Until the White House determines either to grant Mr. Manafort a waiver and process his reappointment, or to appoint a successor, he is still permitted to function as a director by virtue of the "holdover" clause in OPIC's statute.

Manafort was quoted in articles in the March 3, 1986 issues of <u>Time</u> and <u>Newsweek</u> regarding the BMS&K representation of PMETA. BMS&K promoted Marcos' reelection campaign to the American public for PMETA, attempting to make the elections more credible. Other articles in the media that week focused a critical look on lobbyists with ties to the administration, including Manafort.

Manafort responded to this publicity by filing short forms for the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, Nigeria, Peru and UNITA on March 11, 1986. Late the following month, on April 29, 1986, Manafort was scheduled to attend an OPIC Board meeting, but did not. On May 5, 1986 Manafort was personally involved in political activities for Curacao, sending a letter to on tax reform.

On May 12, 1986 brought the matter to a head with a nationally televised report on lobbying. He stated:

Paul Manafort, whose firm represented Zibimbi, can offer clients more than friends in high places. He is in a high government place himself. Manafort is on the Board of Directors of OPIC, a U.S. government agency that makes loans and loan guarantees to foreign businesses.

Manafort represents some countries that want to see that OPIC money, such as, the Bahamas, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and recently a business group close to Ferdinand Marcos.

In 1985, Manafort's firm had contracts worth over \$2.4 million, and in that same year businesses in those countries got \$51.8 million. Manafort told CBS News that he officially withdrew from any OPIC discussions of decisions involving his clients. CBS News was told today that a U.S. government agency was beginning to investigate.

On May 14, 1986 discussed the issue of the potential violation of 18 U.S.C. § 219 by Manafort which summarized in a memorandum to Shanks dated May 16, 1986. That day Manafort resigned in a letter to the President, and the same day sent a letter to the President, Criminal Division, Department of Justice referring the Manafort matter for our review and consideration.

ANALYSIS

The first question posed by these facts is whether Manafort was required to register personally, or only his firm. Manafort maintained strongly, in his contacts with the White House and the Department, that only his firm, and not he personally, was required to register. A review of the public file and the inspection reports certainly confirms the fact that, in general, Manafort's role was client relations rather than political activities. Thus, most references to Manafort in the file are reports by staffers to him or memoranda from him to clients of things the firm has done. It is on this basis that Manafort maintains that he has no personal obligation to register.

Manafort's argument highlights that portion of the legislative history which states that a "political consultant" need not register unless involved in political activities. However, Manafort did lobby for Saudi Arabia in the summer of 1984; did send a letter regarding Curacao's position on the Tax Reform Act on May 5, 1986; did promote the Saudi view regarding the arms sale in several conversations with columnist in April 1986; and did give interviews in February, 1986 to Time and Newsweek regarding the Philippines. In short, while there may be some theoretical case in which a person can serve as a political consultant and not engage in political activities, this is not such a case. Manafort should have filed short forms for the Curacao and Philippine contracts as a hands on participant. Manafort cannot maintain that he personally was not required to register.

The second question posed is whether Manafort violated his position of trust and responsibility to the United States by simultaneously becoming a foreign agent. The gravamen of the section 219 offense is using public office to gain favorable treatment for a foreign client, and its purpose is to ensure that U.S. officials not accept compensation from foreign sources for their government work. This standard separates the conceded technical, status offense from a prosecutable one. category of technical offenses are his status as agent for Barbados, Curacao, St. Lucia, Nigeria, UNITA, and because no issue involving these principals came before the OPIC Board. Also not prosecutable under this standard are those agreements to act as agent after participating in a matter affecting the country, like Peru, Saudi Arabia, and the Philippines, absent evidence that Manafort was a secret agent at the time of the vote benefiting the country, or that the vote was in anticipation of that later contract, neither of which appears in this case. This leaves as a possible prosecutable offense Manafort's status as agent for the Bahamas, Saudi Arabia and the Dominican Republic, where matters involving these countries before OPIC arose while he was simultaneously agent and director. In the Dominican Republic case. Manafort recused himself on advice from and in the Saudi Arabian case he was absent and did not otherwise participate. the case of the Bahamas, Manafort was invited by of his firm to intervene in an OPIC staff decision regarding whether an investment mission would visit the Bahamas, but Manafort declined to do so. There is, in short, no concrete conflict.

Finally, any prosecution of Manafort must overcome obstacles based on the waiver provision of Section 219. First, Manafort was advised by that either a waiver under Section 219 or a recusal from matters affecting the Dominican Republic would solve his Section 219 problems, and he acted in reliance on that legal advice. Second, the failure of White House personnel to force Manafort's resignation until May 16, 1986 strengthens his contention that he thought their

advice on conflicts was politically driven, and not legally required. Third, since White House personnel had knowledge of Manafort's status as an agent and failed to request his resignation sooner, Manafort could argue that this constituted implicit approval of or, at least, acceptance of his status as an agent.

CONCLUSION

The case against Manafort is technical, and not at all appealing. Because of his good faith reliance on the OPIC legal advice and the lack of follow through and coordination by the White House and the Justice Department, a prosecution of Manafort appears to be fundamentally unfair. For these reasons the prosecution should be declined and the investigation closed.

A letter returning the White House documents, and letters to his attorneys, declining prosecution are attached for your approval. Also attached is a letter to current advising him of the declination of referral.

EXHIBIT 926

Version - Original Signatures **DMP International, LLC**FARA Reg. 6440



Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2124-line Express May 9 Page 323 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Registration Statement Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

IREGISTRANT	
1. Name of Registrant	
DMP International, LLC	
2. Registration No. (To Be Assigned By the FARA Registration Unit)	6440
3. Principal Business Address 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418	
4. If the registrant is an individual, furnish the following information: (a) Residence address(es)	
(b) Other business address(es), if any	NSD/CES/RL UNIT 2017 JUN 27 PH
(c) Nationality (d) Year of birth (e) Present citizenship	27 PH 4: 52
(f) If present citizenship not acquired by birth, state when, where and how acquired(g) Occupation	
5. If the registrant is not an individual, furnish the following information:	
(a) Type of organization: Committee ☐ Association ☐ Partnership ☐ Corporation ☒ Other (specify)	Voluntary group
(c) Address of principal office 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418	
(d) Name of person in charge Paul J. Manafort	
(e) Locations of branch or local offices	
(f) If a membership organization, give number of members	

(PAGE 2)

directors or persons performing th	e functions of an officer of	r director of the registrant.
Residence Address(es) 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418	Position Principal	Nationality USA
		. •
d persons renders services directly	in furtherance of the inter	rests of any of the foreign principals?
_	tivity.	
-	the registrant.	·
		ests of any of the foreign principals in
Residence Ado 206 Virginia Avenue Richmond, VA 23226		Nature of Services tegic advice and counsel.
	Residence Address(es) 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418 ed persons renders services directly exergistrant's regular business or acculting firm. et of the ownership and control of the ownership and control of the J. Manafort. er services to the registrant directly al, or in a related or similar capaci Residence Address Residence Res	Principal Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418 and persons renders services directly in furtherance of the interest registrant's regular business or activity. And of the ownership and control of the registrant. J. Manafort. The services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interest, or in a related or similar capacity. Residence Address(es) 206 Virginia Avenue Stra

(PAGE 3)

	IIFOREIGN PRI	NCIPAL	
7. List every foreign principal for whom the regi	strant is acting or has ag	reed to act.	
Foreign Principal	-	Principal A	Address(es)
Ukrainian Party of Regions		udriavskaya Street Ukraine 04053	
· .			
	IIIACTIVIT	IES	_
8. In addition to the activities described in any Exyour own behalf which benefits any or all of your	chibit B to this statement our foreign principals?	, will you engage or are Yes □	you engaging now in activity on No ⊠
If yes, describe fully.			
			,
			•
TV-	FINANCIAL INFO	ORMATION	
 (a) RECEIPTS-MONIES During the period beginning 60 days prior to the did you receive from any foreign principal named disbursement or otherwise? Yes 区 	he date of your obligation ned in Item 7 any contri No 🔲	on to register ² to the time bution, income, or mone	e of filing this statement, ey either as compensation or for
If yes, set forth below in the required detail an	d separately for each suc	ch foreign principal an a	account of such monies.3
Foreign Principal Dat	e Received	Purpose	Amount
		•	
Please see accompanying Supplemental Statements			

Total

The term "foreign principal," as defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, includes a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization, foreign individual and, for the purpose of registration, an organization or an individual any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual.

² An agent must register within ten days of becoming an agent, and before acting as such.

³ A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising campaign. There is no printed form for this exhibit. (See Rule 201(e), 28 C.F.R. § 5.201(e)).

	(b) RECEIPTS-TH During the period be receive from any ford disbursement, or other	ginning 60 days prior t eign principal named in	o the date of your obl a Item 7 anything of v s 口 No 図	igation to register ⁴ to the time alue ⁵ other than money, eithe	of filing this statement, did you ras compensation, or for
	If yes, furnish the fol	lowing information:			
	Foreign Principal	Date	Received	Thing of Value	Purpose
			·		·
10.	(a) DISBURSEMEN			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	During the period be spend or disburse and Item 7?	y money in furtherance	o the date of your oble of or in connection v	igation to register to the time vith your activities on behalf	e of filing this statement, did you of any foreign principal named in
	If yes, set forth below if any, to each foreig		and separately for each	ch such foreign principal nam	ed including monies transmitted,
	Date	To Please see accor Supplemental St		Purpose	Amount
	During the period be	of value ⁸ other than mo	to the date of your obl	igation to register ⁷ to the time or in connection with your a	e of filing this statement, did you ctivities on behalf of any foreign
	If yes, furnish the follo	owing information:			
	Date	Recipient	Foreign Principal	Thing of Value	Purpose
	During the period be	iTS-POLITICAL Coginning 60 days prior t	to the date of your obl	igation to register ⁹ to the time	e of filing this statement, did you,
	your own behalf in c	snort form registrant, is connection with an election with an election any policiant policians.	tion to any political o	ffice or in connection with an es ⊠ No □	value from your own funds and on y primary election, convention, or
	If yes, furnish the fol	lowing information:			
	Date Amo	unt or Thing of Value	Political Organi: Please see accom Supplemental Sta		Location of Event

^{4, 6, 7} and 9 See Footnote 2, on page 3.

⁵ and 8 Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks", and the like.

<u> </u>	
VINFORMA	TIONAL MATERIALS 10
11. Will the activities of the registrant on behalf of any foreig materials? Yes □ No ☒	n principal include the preparation or dissemination of informational
IF YES, RESPOND TO THE REMAINING ITEMS IN 1	THIS SECTION V.
12. Identify each such foreign principal.	
13. Has a budget been established or specified sum of money informational materials?	allocated to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating No ⊠
If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount	nt and for what period of time.
·	
14. Will any public relations firms or publicity agents particip Yes □ No ☒	pate in the preparation or dissemination of such informational materials?
	- c
If yes, furnish the names and addresses of such persons or	r nims.
•	
15. Activities in preparing or disseminating informational ma	terials will include the use of the following:
☐ Radio or TV broadcasts ☐ Magazine or newspaper	☐ Motion picture films ☐ Letters or telegrams
☐ Advertising campaigns ☐ Press releases	☐ Pamphlets or other publications ☐ Lectures or speeches
Other (specify)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Electronic Communications	
☐ Email	
Website URL(s):	
☐ Social media website URL(s): ☐ Other (specify)	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
16. Informational materials will be disseminated among the fo	
☐ Public officials☐ Legislators	☐ Civic groups or associations ☐ Libraries
☐ Government agencies	☐ Educational groups
☐ Newspapers	□ Nationality groups
☐ Editors	Other (specify)
17. Indicate language to be used in the informational material	s:
☐ English	Other (specify)

¹⁰ The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

VI--EXHIBITS AND ATTACHMENTS

- 18. (a) The following described exhibits shall be filed with an initial registration statement:
 - Exhibit A- This exhibit, which is filed on Form NSD-3, sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal named in Item 7.
 - Exhibit B- This exhibit, which is filed on Form NSD-4, sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.
 - (b) An Exhibit C shall be filed when applicable. This exhibit, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, constitution, and bylaws of a registrant that is an organization. A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause shown upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530. (See Rule 201(c) and (d)).
 - (c) An Exhibit D shall be filed when applicable. This exhibit, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal. (See Rule 201 (e)).

VII--EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)	(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signature
6-2717	fand Manufit

2017 JUN 27 PH 4: 5

¹¹ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 329 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Exhibit A to Registration Statement Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

INSTRUCTIONS. Furnish this exhibit for EACH foreign principal listed in an initial statement and for EACH additional foreign principal acquired subsequently. The filing of this document requires the payment of a filing fee as set forth in Rule (d)(1), 28 C.F.R. § 5.5(d)(1). Compliance is accomplished by filing an electronic Exhibit A form at https://www.fara.gov.

Privacy Act Statement. The filing of this document is required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 et seq., for the purposes of registration under the Act and public disclosure. Provision of the information requested is mandatory, and failure to provide this information is subject to the penalty and enforcement provisions established in Section 8 of the Act. Every registration statement, short form registration statement, supplemental statement, exhibit, amendment, copy of informational materials or other document or information filed with the Attorney General under this Act is a public record open to public examination, inspection and copying during the posted business hours of the Registration Unit in Washington, DC. Statements are also available online at the Registration Unit's webpage: https://www.fara.gov. One copy of every such document, other than informational materials, is automatically provided to the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 6(b) of the Act, and copies of any and all documents are routinely made available to other agencies, departments and Congress pursuant to Section 6(c) of the Act. The Attorney General also transmits a semi-annual report to Congress on the administration of the Act which lists the names of all agents registered under the Act and the foreign principals they represent. This report is available to the public in print and online at: https://www.fara.gov.

Public Reporting Burden. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average .49 hours per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Chief, Registration Unit, Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530; and to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC 20503.

Name and Address of Registrant DMP International, LLC 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418		2. Registration No.
3. Name of Foreign Principal Ukrainian Party of Regions	4. Principal Address of Foreig 3/5 Kudriavskaya Street Kyiv, Ukraine 04053	n Principal
		20
 5. Indicate whether your foreign principal is ☐ Government of a foreign country ¹ ☒ Foreign political party 		2017 JUN 27
Partnership Corporation Association	If either, check one of the following: Committee Voluntary group Other (specify)	. M4:
☐ Individual-State nationality	—	52
If the foreign principal is a foreign govern a) Branch or agency represented by b) Name and title of official with w	the registrant	
7. If the foreign principal is a foreign politica a) Principal address 3/5 Kudriavskaya Street Kyiv, Ukraine 04053	al party, state:	
b) Name and title of official with v	whom registrant deals Vladimir Rybak, First Dep	uty Head, Party of Regions
	on of power with transfer of maximum authority litical party, turn Ukraine into the most attractive	

I "Government of a foreign country," as defined in Section 1(e) of the Act, includes any person or group of persons exercising sovereign de facto or de jure political jurisdiction over any country, other than the United States, or over any part of such country, and includes any subdivision of any such group and any group or agency to which such sovereign de facto or de jure authority or functions are directly or indirectly delegated. Such term shall include any faction or body of insurgents within a country assuming to exercise governmental authority whether such faction or body of insurgents has or has not been recognized by the United States.

FORM NSD-3

0 101 0			
	incipal is not a foreign government or a foreign		
a) State t	he nature of the business or activity of this for	eign principal.	
h) In thin	foreign principal:		
		ets, as ather families suitables	Vas 🗆 Na 🗇
	d by a foreign government, foreign political pa	. 18 0 1 12 07 07 07 08 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18	Yes No
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10. If the foreign pr	rincipal is an organization and is not owned or	controlled by a foreign government, fore	ign political party or other
	al, state who owns and controls it.	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
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	EXEC	CUTION	
In accordance w	rith 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swears	or affirms under penalty of periury that h	e/she has read the
information set	forth in this Exhibit A to the registration states	ment and that he/she is familiar with the c	
contents are in t	heir entirety true and accurate to the best of hi	s/her knowledge and belief.	
Date of Exhibit A	Name and Title	Signature	
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Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ | Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 | Page 331 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Exhibit B to Registration Statement Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

INSTRUCTIONS. A registrant must furnish as an Exhibit B copies of each written agreement and the terms and conditions of each oral agreement with his foreign principal, including all modifications of such agreements, or, where no contract exists, a full statement of all the circumstances by reason of which the registrant is acting as an agent of a foreign principal. Compliance is accomplished by filing an electronic Exhibit B form at https://www.lara.gov.

Privacy Act Statement. The filing of this document is required for the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 et seq., for the purposes of registration under the Act and public disclosure. Provision of the information requested is mandatory, and failure to provide the information is subject to the penalty and enforcement provisions established in Section 8 of the Act. Every registration statement, short form registration statement, supplemental statement, exhibit, amendment, copy of informational materials or other document or information filed with the Attorney General under this Act is a public record open to public examination, inspection and copying during the posted business hours of the Registration Unit in Washington, DC. Statements are also available online at the Registration Unit's webpage: https://www.fara.gov. One copy of every such document, other than informational materials, is automatically provided to the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 6(b) of the Act, and copies of any and all documents are routinely made available to other agencies, departments and Congress pursuant to Section 6(c) of the Act. The Attorney General also transmits a semi-annual report to Congress on the administration of the Act which lists the names of all agents registered under the Act and the foreign principals they represent. This report is available to the public in print and online at: https://www.fara.gov.

Public Reporting Burden. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average .33 hours per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Chief, Registration Unit, Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530; and to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC 20503.

	ame of Registrant 1P International, LLC	2. Registration No.	6449	MSIMCES
3. Na	ame of Foreign Principal		27	5 2
Uki	rainian Party of Regions		PH 4	
	Check A	Appropriate Box:	: 52	7
4. 🗆	The agreement between the registrant and the above-na checked, attach a copy of the contract to this exhibit.	med foreign principal is a formal	written contract. If this box	x is
5. 🗆	There is no formal written contract between the registra foreign principal has resulted from an exchange of corr correspondence, including a copy of any initial proposa	espondence. If this box is checke	ed, attach a copy of all pertin	nent
5. ⊠	The agreement or understanding between the registrant contract nor an exchange of correspondence between the terms and conditions of the oral agreement or under	ne parties. If this box is checked,	give a complete description	below of

7. Describe fully the nature and method of performance of the above indicated agreement or understanding.

Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine by implementing prodemocratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs. Communicated with the U.S. Embassy regarding developing events in the Ukraine.

Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 332 of 577

Describe fully the activities the registrant engages in or proposes to engage in on behalf of

Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine by implementing prodemocratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs. Served as source of information for the U.S. Embassy in Kiev regarding developing events in the Ukraine.

Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose.

9.	Will the activities on	behalf of t	he above foreign	principal include po	litical activities as	defined in Section	I(o) of the Act and in
	the footnote below?						

If yes, describe all such political activities indicating, among other things, the relations, interests or policies to be influenced together with the means to be employed to achieve this purpose.

Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding certain interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West.

2017 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swears or affirms under penalty of perjury that he/she has read the information set forth in this Exhibit B to the registration statement and that he/she is familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her knowledge and belief.

Date of Exhibit B	Name and Title	Signature
6-27-17	PAR JUMA FORT	Paul Mant

Footnote: "Political activity," as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act, means any activity which the person engaging in befieves will for that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.



OPERATING AGREEMENT OF DMP INTERNATIONAL, LLC 29 17 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

This Operating Agreement ("Agreement") of DMP International, LLC (DMPI), a Delaware Limited Liability Company, is effective as of the 1st day of September 2011 ("Effective Date") between the Members.

WITNESSETH

The Members wish to establish this Operating Agreement for the governance of the Company.

NOW THEREFORE in consideration of the foregoing, the mutual covenants and agreements contained herein and other good and valuable consideration, the receipt and sufficiency of which is hereby acknowledged, all of the Members of the Company hereby acknowledge and agree to the following:

SECTION I FORMATION AND PURPOSE

The Company was formed pursuant to the Delaware Limited Liability Company Act, as may be amended from time to time (the "Act").

Each Member confirms and agrees to its status as Member, its Membership Class, and subscribes to the acquisition of a Membership Interest upon the terms and conditions set forth in this Agreement.

Each Member hereby executes and adopts this Agreement as the Operating Agreement of the Company, pursuant to the Act. The Members and the Company hereby agree that the duties and obligations imposed on the Members of the Company shall be those set forth in this Agreement, which is intended to govern the relationship among the Company and the Members, notwithstanding any provision of the Act or common law to the contrary.

1. Name.

The name of the Company is DMPI. All Company business must be conducted in the name of the Company. Title to all assets of the Company shall be held in the name of the Company.

2. Principal Office.

The principal office of the Company shall be 10 St. James Drive, Palm Beach Gardens, FL.

3. Governing Law.

This Agreement and all issues regarding the rights and obligations of the Members, the construction, enforcement and interpretation hereof, and the formation, administration and termination of the Company shall be governed by the provisions of the Act and other applicable laws of the State of Delaware, without reference to conflict of laws principles.

4. Purposes.

The Company has been formed for the purpose of transacting any and all lawful business for which limited liability companies may be organized under the Act.

5. Registered Agent and Office.

The registered agent for the service of process and the registered office shall be that person and that office location reflected in the Articles of Organization as filed with the Delaware Secretary of State. The Managing Member(s), may, from time to time, change the registered agent or office through appropriate state filings. In the event the registered agent ceases to act as such for any reason or the registered office shall change, the Managing Member(s) shall promptly designate a replacement registered agent or file a notice of change of address as the case may be.

SECTION II STATUS, CLASSES, RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS

1. Members.

There shall be one class of members: At the time of the execution of this Agreement, the following are the Class A Members of the Company:

Paul J. Manafort

The term "Member" as used herein, when it is not used with a specific Class designation, refers to a Class A Member.

2. Notice of Address and Membership Interest.

The notice of the address of the Members are set forth on Attachment A. The Members each agree that each Member's percentage of ownership interest ("Membership Interest") as well as the Class of the Membership Interest, shall be set forth on Exhibit A as may be amended from time to time pursuant to this Agreement.

3. Voting.

Only Class A Members are entitled to vote on any matters. Class A Members shall vote in proportion to their respective Membership Interests. Unless otherwise provided herein, for the purposes of this Agreement, any action requiring a vote, consent, or approval of a majority of the outstanding Class A Membership Interests shall be authorized if Class A

Members holding more than fifty percent of the outstanding Class A Membership Interests, vote for, consent to or approve, such action.

4. Action Without a Meeting.

Any action required or permitted to be taken at a meeting of the Class A Members may be taken without a meeting if the action is taken by Class A Members holding all of the outstanding Class A Membership Interests entitled to vote. Such an action without meeting shall be evidenced by a written consent signed by all Class A Members as required and filed with the Company's records.

5. Conflicts of Interest.

A Member does not violate a duty or obligation to the Company merely because the Member's conduct furthers the Member's own interest. A Member may lend money to and transact other business with the Company. The rights and obligations of a Member who lends money to or transacts business with the Company are the same as those of a person who is not a Member, subject to applicable law. No transaction with the Company shall be voidable solely because a Member has either a direct or indirect interest in the transaction if either the transaction is fair to the Company, or if, knowing the material facts of the transaction, the majority of the Class A Members authorize, approve or ratify the transaction.

6. Other Activities.

Except as otherwise provided herein, any Member may engage in or possess any interest in other businesses of any nature and description, independently or with others and neither the Company nor any Member shall have any rights in or to any such independent venture or the income or profits derived therefrom, provided, however, that no Member shall engage in any independent venture or opportunity which competes with the business of the Company unless he has first presented such opportunity to the Company and a majority of the Class A Members have voted to decline such business opportunity on behalf of the Company.

7. Right to Transfer Membership Interest.

No Class A Member shall have the right to transfer, hypothecate, mortgage, sell, exchange, assign or otherwise dispose of or grant an interest in (collectively "transfer") all or part of his Membership Interest to a third party or parties, including the Member's interest in any part of the Company's assets, receivables, records, documents records, files or clientele, all such rights and interests of such Member being personal to him and not transferable and not assignable. Nothing herein shall prevent a Class A from selling back to the Company all or a portion of its Membership Interest under the terms of an option contained in a written Agreement with the Company.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, each Member agrees not to transfer all or any part of a Membership Interest (or take or omit any action, filing election or other action which could result in a deemed transfer) if such transfer (either considered alone or in the aggregate with prior transfers by other Members) would result in the termination of the Company for Federal Income tax purposes. Such transfer is void ab initio.

8. Liability of Members.

No Member shall be liable as such for the liabilities of the Company. The failure of the Company to observe any formalities or requirements relating to the exercise of its powers or management of its business or affairs under this Agreement or the Act shall not be grounds for imposing personal liability on any of the Members.

9. Indemnification.

The Company shall indemnify the Members for all costs, losses, liabilities and damages paid or accrued by such Member in connection with the business of the Company for acts or omissions which do not violate the standard of care set forth immediately below.

10. Members' Standard of Care.

Each Member's duty of care in the discharge of the Member=s duties to the Company and the other Members, including the duty of the Managing Member(s), is limited to refraining from engaging in grossly negligent or reckless conduct, intentional misconduct, or a knowing violation of law. Members shall be fully protected in relying in good faith upon the records of the Company and upon such opinions reports or statements made by other Members or other person as to matters the Member reasonably believes to be in that person=s professional or expert competence.

11. Miscellaneous Member Obligations.

It shall be the duty of each Member to act at all times consistently with and in compliance with all and each of the provisions of this Agreement and with all policies, rules, and decisions of the Company adopted in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

SECTION III -MANAGEMENT BY MANAGING MEMBER

1. Managing Member(s).

There shall be one Managing Member (also referred to herein as "Manager"). Only a Class A Member may be a Managing Member. All decisions concerning the business affairs of the Company shall be made by the Managing Member.

The initial Managing Member, any one of whom has the authority individually and without the signature of the other Managing Member, to bind the company, shall be:

Paul J. Manafort

Any vacancy in the office of the Manager shall be filled by vote of the Majority of Class A Members.

2. Term of Managing Member(s).

Each Managing Member shall serve until the earliest of:

- (a) The Withdrawal of such Managing Member;
- (b) The Resignation of such Managing Member;
- (c) Removal of the Managing Member as provided for by this Agreement; or
- (d) The election and qualification of the Managing Member's successor by a Majority of the Class A Members.

3. Authority of Members to Bind the Company.

Only the Managing Member and agents of the Company authorized by the Managing Member shall have the authority to bind the Company. No Member who is not either a Managing Member or otherwise specifically authorized by a Managing Member in writing to act as an agent shall take any action to bind the Company, and each Member shall indemnify the Company for any costs or damages incurred by the Company as a result of the unauthorized action of such Member. Each Managing Member has the power, on behalf of the Company, to do all things necessary or convenient to carry out the business and affairs of the Company.

4. Agents of the Company

Unless stated otherwise herein, the Managing Member designates and authorizes Richard W. Gates as an authorized agent to act in all respects on behalf of the Company.

5. Third Party Reliance.

Notwithstanding the failure of the Managing Members to reach a consensus on any management matter, no person dealing with the Company shall have any obligation to inquire into the power or authority of any Managing Member acting on behalf of the Company when that act is for the purpose of apparently carrying on the usual business or affairs of the Company, including the exercise of the authority indicated herein.

6. Removal of Managing Member.

A Managing Member may be removed by the affirmative vote of a Majority of the Class A Members, for cause only. "For cause" means willful misconduct or fraud.

SECTION IV CAPITAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS

1. Initial Capital Contributions.

The capital contributions of the Members are as set forth on Attachment A. Such capital may be used for any lawful purpose.

2. Additional Contributions.

The Managing Member may arrange for the provision of such additional funds as are deemed necessary to conduct the Company's business. Such additional funds may be raised by loan to the Company from an outside source or by a loan or capital contribution to the Company by one or more Members.

3. No Interest On Contributions.

No Member shall be entitled to interest on his capital contribution.

4. Return of Capital Contributions.

No Member shall be entitled to withdraw any part of his capital contribution or capital account or to receive any distribution from the Company, except as specifically provided for in this Agreement. Except as otherwise provided herein there shall be no obligation to return to any Member or withdrawn Member any part of such Member's Capital contributions to the Company for so long as the Company remains in existence. If the Company is continued by unanimous consent of the remaining Members following the death, disability or withdrawal of a Member, the former Member shall continue to receive the share of the distributions and return of capital at such time and in such manner as such party would have received the distributions had such former party remained a member of the Company.

5. Loans Not to be Treated as Capital Contributions.

Loans or advances by any Member to the Company shall not be considered capital contributions and shall not increase the capital account balance of the lending or advancing Member.

6. Limited Liability.

Except as otherwise provided in this Agreement, no Member shall be required under any circumstances to contribute or lend money or property to the Company.

7. Guaranty of Company Indebtedness.

A Member shall not be obligated to guarantee the Company indebtedness or other contractual obligations unless he agrees to do so.

8. No Third Party Beneficiaries.

The provisions of this Agreement relating to the financial obligations of Members are not intended for the benefit of any creditor or other person to whom any debts, liabilities or obligations are owed by or who otherwise have any claim against the Company or any of the Members, and, except for Members, no creditor or other person shall obtain any right under any such provisions or shall by reason of any such provisions make any claim with respect to any debt, liability or obligation (or otherwise) against the Company or any of its Members.

SECTION V DISTRIBUTION OF CASH AND PROPERTY

1. Distribution of Net Cash Flow.

The term "net cash flow" for a fiscal year shall mean:

All cash receipts as shown on the books of the Company (excluding, however, capital contributions from members, net proceeds to the Company from the sale or the disposition of substantially all of the assets, condemnation process, and excess title, property, casualty, or liability insurance proceeds, if any, for the restoration or repair of the Company assets), reduced by cash disbursements for Company purposes including interest and principal upon loans, and cash reserves set aside by the Managing Members which the Managing Members deem necessary in their discretion to accomplish the Company's business purpose, plus any other funds, including the amounts previously set aside as reserves for distribution as net cash flow.

2. Priority of Distribution.

The net cash flow of the Company for a fiscal year shall be paid out to the Members pro rata in accordance with their respective Membership Interests at such time as the Managing Member(s) determines.

3. Distribution of the Proceeds of Dissolution.

If the Company dissolves, the net proceeds of dissolution, including any accompanying sale of Company assets, shall be distributed in the following order of priority:

First, toward the satisfaction of all outstanding debts and other obligations of the Company, including Members, who are creditors, then pro rata among those members with a positive capital account balance, after adjustments for the above distributions, and tax allocations for the current fiscal year, in proportion to their respective capital accounts.

SECTION VI FEDERAL AND STATE TAX MATTERS

1. Maintenance of Members' Capital Accounts.

With respect to each Member a separate "Capital Account" for such Member shall be established and maintained throughout the full term of the Company in accordance with applicable Treasury Regulations that must be complied with in order for the allocations of taxable profits and losses provided in this Agreement to have Aeconomic effect@ under applicable Treasury Regulations.

2. Allocations of Profits and Losses of the Company.

The Company=s net income or loss for a fiscal year computed in accordance with applicable federal income tax accounting principles shall be allocated among the Members in accordance with their respective Membership Interests.

3. Special Tax Allocation.

Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Agreement, the Company shall comply with IRS Section 704 and Treasury Regulation section 1.704 with respect to all applicable tax allocations.

4. Tax Year and Accounting Matters.

The taxable year of the Company shall be the calendar year. The Company shall adopt such methods of accounting and file its tax returns using the methods of accounting determined upon the advice of the accountant servicing the books and records of the Company.

5. Tax Elections.

The Company may make or revoke all tax elections provided for under the Internal Revenue Code upon a decision by the Manager(s) on the advice of the accountant servicing the books and records of the Company.

SECTION VII TERM AND TERMINATION OF THE COMPANY

1. Term of the Company.

The term of the Company commenced upon the filing of the Certificate of Formation with the Delaware Secretary of State and shall continue in perpetuity, unless sooner dissolved and terminated as provided in this Agreement.

2. Events of Termination.

The Company shall be dissolved upon the occurrence of any of the following events:

- (a) The determination in writing of the Managing Members to dissolve and terminate the Company;
- (b) The sale, transfer or assignment of all or substantially all of the assets of the Company;
- (c) The adjudication of the Company as insolvent or the filing of an involuntary petition in bankruptcy, or reorganization, against the Company which is not dismissed within 90 days, or the appointment for the company of a temporary or permanent receiver, trustee, custodian and such receiver, trustee or custodian is not dismissed within 90 days;
 - (d) Entry of a decree of dissolution;
- (e) The death, retirement, dissolution, termination, resignation, insanity, insolvency of a Member, unless within 6 months of such event the Class A Members by a majority agree to continue the company and, if the death is that of a Managing Member, select a new Managing Member, in which event the Company shall not be dissolved and the Company business shall be continued.
- (f) When so determined in accordance with other specific provisions of this Agreement;
 - (g) As otherwise required by applicable law.

3. Conclusion of Affairs.

In the event of a dissolution of the Company for any reason, the Members shall proceed promptly to wind up the affairs and liquidate the Company. Except as otherwise provided in the Agreement, the Members shall continue to share in the distributions and the tax allocations during the period of liquidation in the same manner as before the dissolution. After paying or providing for the payment of all debts and liabilities of the Company and all expenses of liquidation, the proceeds of liquidation shall be distributed to or for the benefit of Members in accordance with this Agreement.

4. Liquidating Distributions.

After paying for or providing for the payment of all debts or liabilities of the Company and all the expenses of liquidation, and subject to the setting up of reserves the majority of Class A Members deem necessary for any contingent or unforeseen liabilities or obligations of the Company, the proceeds of the liquidation and any other assets of the Company shall be distributed of the benefit of the Members in accordance with this Agreement.

5. Termination.

Within a reasonable time following the completion of the liquidation of the Company, the Company shall terminate and any Member shall have the authority to execute and file with any appropriate state authority a Certificate of Cancellation of the Company or any similar documentation required by such authority.

SECTION VIII ADMISSION AND WITHDRAWAL OF MEMBERS

1. Admission.

No Member shall be added without unanimous written consent of the Managing Members.

2. Expulsion.

Any Member may be expelled from the Company by action of the Class A Members holding a majority of the outstanding Membership Interests entitled to be voted, upon a default of such Member of any of his obligations hereunder, if such default continues for a period of 30 days after notice thereof is given to him by the Company.

3. Withdrawal.

No Member shall have the right to voluntarily resign or otherwise withdraw from the Company without the unanimous written consent of the Managing Member. Notwithstanding the consent to withdraw, no member shall be entitled to receive any compensation or distribution with respect to the withdrawal, except as otherwise provided herein.

4. Effect of Withdrawal or Expulsion.

On and as of the effective date of withdrawal or expulsion from the Company under the provisions of this Agreement, such former Member shall cease to have any Membership Interest, or other rights, status or privileges of a Member, but such former Member shall not be released or discharged from any of the obligations of a Member under the provisions of this Agreement, unless provided in the written consent of Members holding all of the outstanding Class A Membership Interests entitled to be voted.

5. Purchase of Membership Interests Upon Expulsion, Withdrawal or Death of Member. Upon the Expulsion, Withdrawal or Death of a Member, that Member=s Membership Interest shall be purchased by the Company for a purchase price equal to the Fair Market Value of the Member=s Interest. The Fair Market Value shall be determined by agreement between the Member (or his Personal Representative) and the Company, which agreement is subject to unanimous approval of the remaining Class A Members of the Company. If an agreement with respect to Fair Market Value cannot be reached within 60 days of the death, withdrawal or expulsion, the Fair Market Value shall be determined by appraisal. The Class A Members and the Member (or his personal representative) shall choose an appraiser and the two appraisers shall choose a third appraiser. The decision of the Majority of the appraisers as to the fair market value of the Membership Interests shall be final and binding. Each party shall pay for its/his appraiser and the third appraiser fee shall be shared by the both parties.

SECTION IX ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

1. Books, Records, Accounts.

The Manager(s) shall cause faithful books and records to be kept using standard accounting procedures when applicable. The books and records shall be kept in the Company's principal office. Only the Manager(s) shall be signatory on the bank accounts of the Company.

2. Notice.

Unless otherwise provided herein, any offer, acceptance, election, approval consent, certification, request, waiver, notice or other communication required or permitted to be given hereunder (collectively Anotice") shall be given by enclosing same in an envelope addressed to the Member to whom the Notice is to be given and deposited in the US Mail postage prepaid to the Member at such address listed in Attachment A, or at such other address as requested by the Member.

SECTION X ARBITRATION

Any matter that arises involving the performance or interpretation of this Operating Agreement that the Members are unable to settle by mutual agreement, or arises as the result of an unsuccessful mediation as required in the case of a management dispute between the Managing Members, shall be settled by a panel of three Arbitrators. One Arbitrator shall be appointed by each managing Member and the third Arbitrator shall be appointed by the two appointed Arbitrators. The arbitration proceeding shall be conducted in accordance with the prevailing Commercial Arbitration Rules and Regulations of the American Arbitration Association. The decision of a majority of said Arbitrators shall be final and binding on all parties to this Agreement. The decision so rendered may be entered in any court having jurisdiction. The Arbitrators shall not have authority to award punitive or other non-compensatory damages to any party. Each party shall bear its own costs and expenses of the arbitration; the costs and expenses of the arbitrators and the administrative costs of the arbitration will be equally shared by the parties.

SECTION IX MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

1. Amendment.

This Agreement, including any Attachments attached hereto, represent the entire Agreement of the Members with respect to the matters covered herein. Except as provided by law or otherwise provided herein, this Agreement shall only be amended by unanimous written consent of the Class A Members.

2. Interpretation.

Whenever the context may require, any noun or pronoun used herein shall include the corresponding masculine, feminine or neuter forms. The singular form of nouns, pronouns and verbs shall include the plural, and vice versa.

3. Severability.

Each provision of this Agreement shall be considered severable. If for any reason any provision or provisions hereof are determined to be invalid or contrary to existing or future law, such invalidity shall not impair the operation or affect those portions of this Agreement which are valid, and the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect and shall be construed and enforced in all respects as if such invalid or unenforceable provision or provisions had been eliminated.

4. Further Assurances.

MEMBERS:

Each Member hereby agrees that he shall hereafter execute and deliver such further instruments, provide all information, and take or forebear from taking such further actions and things as may be reasonably required or useful to carry out the intent and purpose of this Agreement and as are not inconsistent with the terms hereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties have executed this Agreement to be effective as of the date above written.

•
Class A Members:
Paul J. Manafort
BY:
Paul J. Manafort, its Managing Member
AUTHORIZED AGENT:
BY:
Richard W. Gates

ATTACHMENT A

Member Name/ Membership Initial Capital Contribution Initial Capital

Class/Contribution

Address Interest (Cash) (In Kind)

Class A Member(s):

Paul J. Manafort 100%

10 St. James Drive

Palm Beach Gardens, FL

TOTALS 100%

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2124-000: Express May 31-2020 346 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Short Form Registration Statement Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

INSTRUCTIONS. Each partner, officer, director, associate, employee, and agent of a registrant is required to file a short form registration statement unless he engages in no activities in furtherance of the interests of the registrant's foreign principal or unless the services he renders to the registrant are in a secretarial, clerical, or in a related or similar capacity. Compliance is accomplished by filing an electronic short form registration statement at https://www.fara.gov.

Privacy Act Statement. The filing of this document is required for the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 et seq., for the purposes of registration under the Act and public disclosure. Provision of the information requested is mandatory, and failure to provide the information is subject to the penalty and enforcement provisions established in Section 8 of the Act. Every registration statement, short form registration statement, supplemental statement, exhibit, amendment, copy of informational materials or other document or information filed with the Attorney General under this Act is a public record open to public examination, inspection and copying during the posted business hours of the Registration Unit in Washington, DC. Statements are also available online at the Registration Unit's webpage: https://www.fara.gov. One copy of every such document, other than informational materials, is automatically provided to the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 6(b) of the Act, and copies of any and all documents are routinely made available to other agencies, departments and Congress pursuant to Section 6(c) of the Act. The Attorney General also transmits a semi-annual report to Congress on the administration of the Act which lists the names of all agents registered under the Act and the foreign principals they represent. This report is available to the public and online at: https://www.fara.gov.

Public Reporting Burden. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average .429 hours per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Chief, Registration Unit, Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530; and to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC 20503.

Name Paul J. Manafort		2. Registration No.				
3. Residence Address(es) 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418		4. Business Address(es) DMP International, LL 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens,	-C			
5. Year of Birth 1949 Nationality USA Present Citizenship USA		6. If present citizenship indicate when, and he n/a		by birth, 2017 JUN	MSD/CE	
7. Occupation Attorney and Busi	nessman			N 27	- Si	
And the second s				-0	=:-	
What is the name and address o Name DMP International, LLC	f the primary registrant?	10 St. James Drive Address Palm Beach Garder	ns, FL 33418	/ կ։ 52	256	
9. Indicate your connection with th	ne primary registrant:			110		
✓ partner☐ officer☐ other (specify)	☐ director ☐ associate	☐ employee ☐ agent	☐ consult☐ subcon			
10. List every foreign principal to Ukrainian Party of Regions	whom you will render ser	vices in support of the primary	registrant.			
11. Describe separately and in deta through the primary registrant used.) Please see attached	ail all services which you listed in Item 8, and the d	will render to the foreign princi ate(s) of such services. (If space	ipal(s) listed in Ite ce is insufficient, a	n 10 either o	directly, or age must be	

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 347 of 577

12	. Do any of the above described services include p Yes ⊠ No □	political activity as defined in Section	on 1(o) of the Act and	in the footnote below?
	If yes, describe separately and in detail such poli	itical activity.		
	Please see attached			
13.	. The services described in Items 11 and 12 are to	be rendered on a		
		part time basis	□ s	pecial basis
14.	. What compensation or thing of value have you re			
	☐ Salary: Amount \$ per		n at % of _	
	Salary: Not based solely on services rer			
	Fee: Amount \$	☐ Other thing	of value	
	During the period beginning 60 days prior to the make any contributions of money or other things connection with any election to political office o candidates for any political office? Yes	of value from your own funds or r in connection with any primary e	possessions and on you	ir own behalf in
	Date Amount or Thing of Value	Political Organization or Candi	date L	ocation of Event
		e.		
		EXECUTION		
info	accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned or mation set forth in this registration statement and rentirety true and accurate to the best of his/her k	that he/she is familiar with the co	of perjury that he/she h ntents thereof and that	as read the such contents are in
	1-22-12	1000	12/1 //	2
	(Date of signature)	1 any	Signature)	SDZ
	(Bate of dignature)		(Signature)	NSD/CES/ 2017 JUN 2
				27
				2017 JUN 27 PM 4
				7
				T.

Footnote: "Political activity," as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act, means any activity which the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

Question 11

Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine by implementing pro-democratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs.

Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Communicated with the U.S. Embassy in Kiev regarding developing events in the Ukraine.

Question 12

Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2124 Filed 02/23/19 Rage 349 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Short Form Registration Statement Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

INSTRUCTIONS. Each partner, officer, director, associate, employee, and agent of a registrant is required to file a short form registration statement unless he engages in no activities in furtherance of the interests of the registrant's foreign principal or unless the services he renders to the registrant are in a secretarial, clerical, or in a related or similar capacity. Compliance is accomplished by filing an electronic short form registration statement at https://www.fara.gov.

Privacy Act Statement. The filing of this document is required for the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 et seq., for the purposes of registration under the Act and public disclosure. Provision of the information requested is mandatory, and failure to provide the information is subject to the penalty and enforcement provisions established in Section 8 of the Act. Every registration statement, short form registration statement, supplemental statement, exhibit, amendment, copy of informational materials or other document or information filed with the Attorney General under this Act is a public record open to public examination, inspection and copying during the posted business hours of the Registration Unit in Washington, DC. Statements are also available online at the Registration Unit's webpage: https://www.fara.gov. One copy of every such document, other than informational materials, is automatically provided to the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 6(b) of the Act, and copies of any and all documents are routinely made available to other agencies, departments and Congress pursuant to Section 6(c) of the Act. The Attorney General also transmits a semi-annual report to Congress on the administration of the Act which lists the names of all agents registered under the Act and the foreign principals they represent. This report is available to the public and online at: https://www.fara.gov.

Public Reporting Burden. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average .429 hours per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Chief, Registration Unit, Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530; and to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC 20503.

Name Richard W. Gates, III		2. Registration No.	Col	140	
3. Residence Address(es) 206 Virginia Avenue Richmond, VA 23226		4. Business Address(es) DMP International, LLC 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, F			
5. Year of Birth 1972 Nationality USA Present Citizenship USA		6. If present citizenship v indicate when, and how n/a	vas not acquired b w acquired.	2017 JUN 27	NSD/CES/W
7. Occupation Political Consultant				PM	
8. What is the name and address of the primary registrant? Name DMP International, LLC		10 St. James Drive Address Palm Beach Garden:	s, FL 33418	կ ։ 52	\$ 754.8
9. Indicate your connection with the	primary registrant:	⊠ employee	☐ consulta	int	
☐ officer ☐ other (specify)	associate	agent	subcont		
List every foreign principal to wh Ukrainian Party of Regions	om you will render ser	vices in support of the primary re	egistrant.		
Describe separately and in detail through the primary registrant lisused.) Please see attached	all services which you ted in Item 8, and the d	will render to the foreign princip ate(s) of such services. (If space	al(s) listed in Iten	n 10 either d full insert po	rectly, or

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 350 of 577 12. Do any of the above described services include political activity as defined in Section 1(0) of the Act and in the footnote below? If yes, describe separately and in detail such political activity. Please see attached 13. The services described in Items 11 and 12 are to be rendered on a M full time basis part time basis ☐ special basis 14. What compensation or thing of value have you received to date or will you receive for the above services? □ Salary: Amount \$ _____ per ___ □ Commission at _____ % of ____ Salary: Not based solely on services rendered to the foreign principal(s). ☐ Fee: Amount \$ _____ ☐ Other thing of value ___ 15. During the period beginning 60 days prior to the date of your obligation to register to the time of filing this statement, did you make any contributions of money or other things of value from your own funds or possessions and on your own behalf in connection with any election to political office or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for any political office? Yes 🗌 No X If yes, furnish the following information: Date Amount or Thing of Value Political Organization or Candidate Location of Event **EXECUTION** In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swears or affirms under penalty of perjury that he/she has read the information set forth in this registration statement and that he/she is familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her knowledge and belief.

Footnote: "Political activity," as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act, means any activity which the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

Question 11

Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine by implementing pro-democratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs.

Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided strategic advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose.

Question 12

Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided strategic advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose.

2017 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 352 of 577 OMB No. 1124-0002; Expires May 3

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement

Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

For Six Month Period Ending 6/3	0/2012	
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(Insert date)

I - REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant

(b) Registration No.

6440

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant 10 St. James Drive

Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418

DMP International, LLC

2. F		rmation previously	y furnished in connection with the following?			
	(a) If an individual:					
	 Residence address(es) 	Yes	No 🗆			
	(2) Citizenship	Yes	No 🗆			
	(3) Occupation	Yes 🗆	No 🗆			
	(b) If an organization:					
	(1) Name	Yes	No ⊠		2	25
	(2) Ownership or control	Yes 🗌	No ⊠	640	=	2
	(3) Branch offices	Yes 🗌	No ⊠		2017 JUN	NSD/CES
	(c) Explain fully all changes, if ar	y, indicated in Ite	ms (a) and (b) above.		N	28
					7	国际
			*		PM	2.
						8.9
					÷.	24
					52	E.

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).

3.	If you have previous	sly filed Exhibit C1, state whether any	changes there	in have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.
	Yes 🗆	No ⊠		
	If yes, have you file	ed an amendment to the Exhibit C?	Yes 🗆	No □
	If no please attach	the required amendment		

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

	sed acting as partners, officers, directors	or similar officials of the regi	suant during uns	o monur reporting bei
Yes □	No 🗵			
If yes, furnish the fol	lowing information:	B 44	D	
Name		Position	Date Con	nection Ended
-				
		•		
Yes □	ome partners, officers, directors or simi No ⊠	lar officials during this 6 mont	h reporting period	?
If yes, furnish the fol				
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
) Has any person name	d in Item 4(b) rendered services directly	in furtherance of the interests	of any foreign pri	ncipal?
Yes □	No □	÷	,	•
If yes, identify each s	such person and describe the service rene	dered.		
or will render services secretarial, or in a rela	reporting period, has the registrant hire to the registrant directly in furtherance ated or similar capacity?	of the interests of any foreign No ⊠	principal(s) in oth	er than a clerical or
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
	or individuals, who have filed a short fo egistrant during this 6 month reporting p owing information:		ninated their emplo No 図	oyment or
Name	Posi	tion or Connection	Da	te Terminated
				·
	•			
	or individuals, who have filed a short for month reporting period? Yes	rm registration statement, term No ⊠	inated their conne	ection with any foreig
If yes, furnish the foll-	owing information:			
Name	Position or Connection	Foreign Principal	Da	te Terminated
LTORING	rosition of Connection	r oroigii r tilicipai	Da	w reminden
•				•
_				

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 354 of 577

(PAGE 3)

II - FOREIG	ΝI	PRI	VС	IP.	ΑĽ	,
-------------	----	-----	----	-----	----	---

Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period If yes, furnish the following information:	od? Yes □	No ⊠
Foreign Principal	Date of Termination	1
	•	•
Have you acquired any new foreign principal(s) ² during this 6 month reporting period? If yes, furnish th following information:	Yes 🗆	No 🗵
Name and Address of Foreign Principal(s)	Date Acquired	
In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s) ² whom you constitute partial	ontinued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	ontinued to represent	during the 6 mo
	ontinued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	ontinued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	ontinued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	ontinued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	ontinued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions		during the 6 mo
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in It		during the 6 mo
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions 1. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in It Exhibit A³ Yes □ No □		during the 6 mo
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in It		during the 6 mo
Ukrainian Party of Regions 1. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in It Exhibit A ³ Yes No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No In the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in It Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No In the newly acquired exhibit.	tem 8?	
Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in It Exhibit A ³ Yes No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign	tem 8?	
Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in It Exhibit A ³ Yes No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign	tem 8? n principal whom you ⊠	

² The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

³ The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3, sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁴ The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4, sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 355 of 577

(PAGE 4)

III - ACTIVITIES

If yes, identify each foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services: Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine for the 2012 legislative election and 2012 local elections by Implementing pro-democratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs. Communicated with the U.S. Embassy in Kiev regarding developing events in Ukraine. Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose. 12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity. *a defined below?* Yes No If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the negistrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter. Please Note: The information contained in this filling, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and south records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and south records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant's present	11.		reporting period, have you eng or 9 of this statement?	aged in any activities Yes ⊠	for or rendered any service. No \square	ces to any foreign principal
election and 2012 local elections by implementing pro-democratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs. Communicated with the U.S. Embassy in Kiev regarding developing events in Ukraine. Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose. 12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity ⁵ as defined below? Yes \(\subset \) No \(\omega \) If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter. Please Note: The information contained in this filling, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant's for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available. 13. In addition to the above describe		If yes, identify each f	oreign principal and describe	n full detail your acti	vities and services:	
government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose. 12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity as defined below? Yes \(\) No \(\otimes\) If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter. Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.		election and 2012 loc activities, developing international election Ukraine.	cal elections by implementing a party platform and politica monitoring programs. Com	g pro-democratic can il agenda, and implei imunicated with the	npaign activities, engagir menting election plannin U.S. Embassy in Kiev rega	ng in party building ng, election integrity, and arding developing events in
If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter. Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available. 13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠		government officials integration between	and other Western influentia the Ukraine and the West. Pr	persons to advance	the goal of greater politi	ical and economic
the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter. Please Note: The information contained in this filling, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available. 13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes \(\sigma\) No \(\sigma\)	12.			cehalf of any foreign	principal engaged in polit	ical activity ⁵ as defined below?
the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available. 13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes \(\sim \text{No } \sum \text{No } \		the relations, interests arranged, sponsored of	and policies sought to be inflor delivered speeches, lectures	uenced and the means	s employed to achieve this	s purpose. If the registrant
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠		the Registrant's prese best recollection of re review by the Registr	ent registration and/or conte elevant events and such reco rant and his legal counsel. Th	mporaneous financia rds currently available e Registrant may am	I receipts or disburseme le, to the knowledge and	nts, reflect only Registrant's belief of the Registrant, for
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No □						
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No □				•		
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠						
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠						
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠						
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠						
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠						
foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠	<u> </u>					10 1111
If yes, describe fully.	13.				activity on your own beh	ail which benefits your
		If yes, describe fully.				
	•					
		·				

^{5 &}quot;Political activity," as defined in Section 1(a) of the Act, means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

(PAGE 5)

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

i4. (a)	RECEIPTS-MONIES During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No						
	If no, explain why.			·	•		
			1. Continue de destantes				
	If yes, set forth below	in the required detail and separately for ea	ch foreign principal an	account of su	ch montes."		
	Date Please see attached.	From Whom	Purpose		Amount		
		·					
					Total		
(b)	During this 6 month r	RAISING CAMPAIGN eporting period, have you received, as part			ney on behalf of any		
	. .	ed in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?	Yes 🗌	No 🖾			
	If yes, have you filed	an Exhibit D ⁸ to your registration?	Yes □	No 🗆			
	If yes, indicate the da	te the Exhibit D was filed. Date					
(c)	RECEIPTS-THING During this 6 month r named in Items 7, 8, 6 Yes	S OF VALUE eporting period, have you received any thin or 9 of this statement, or from any other so No ☒	ng of value ⁹ other than urce, for or in the inter	money from a ests of any suc	ny foreign principal h foreign principal?		
	If yes, furnish the foll	owing information:					
	Foreign Principal	Date Received	Thing of Value		Purpose		

^{6, 7} A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising campaign. (See Rule 201(e)).

⁸ An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 357 of 577

(a)		rting period, have you ed monies in connection with acti	vity on behalf of a	any foreign principal r	named in Items 7, 8, or
	9 of this statement? (2) transmitted monies t	Yes ⊠ No □ o any such foreign principal?	Yes 🔲	No ⊠	
		il why there were no disbursemen			pal.
	If yes, set forth below in monies transmitted, if any	the required detail and separately y, to each foreign principal.	for each foreign p	rincipal an account of	f such monies, including
	Date Please see attached.	To Whom	P	urpose	Amount
				· ·	
				•	
				•	
		•			

Total

/ N		, ,	
Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABU	Document 525-2	Filed 02/23/19	$^{ m l}$ Page 358 of 577

(PAGE 7)

	Yes □	No ⊠	iorpai manoa in in	ems 7, 8, or 9 of this state	
If yes, furnish	the following inform	ation:			
Date	Recipient	Foreign I	Principal	Thing of Value	Purpose
•	÷				
			,		
	•				
•					
During this 6 to other person, i	made any contribution	od, have you from y ns of money or othe	our own funds and or things of value	d on your own behalf eith in connection with an el heid to select candidates	ection to any political
	Yes □	No 🗵			
	the following inform	ation:			
If yes, furnish	the following inform			•	

^{10, 11} Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

(PAGE 8)

V-INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

	g period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to o 図	be disseminated any informational materials?
If Yes, go to Item 17.		
-	6(a), do you disseminate any material in connecti	on with your registration?
_	io (X)	on with your registration?
	als disseminated during the six month period to the	e Registration Unit for review.
17. Identify each such foreign princip	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
,	•	
•		
	riod, has any foreign principal established a budg g or disseminating informational materials?	et or allocated a specified sum of money to Yes □ No ☒
If yes, identify each such foreign	principal, specify amount, and indicate for what p	period of time.
	,	
19. During this 6 month reporting per	iod, did your activities in preparing, disseminating	g or causing the dissemination of informational
materials include the use of any o	f the following:	
	Magazine or newspaper 🔲 Motion picture films	☐ Letters or telegrams
• . • —	ress releases \square Pamphlets or other p	ublications Lectures or speeches
Other (specify)		
Electronic Communications		
☐ Email		
Website URL(s):		
☐ Other (specify)		
20. During this 6 month reporting per the following groups:	iod, did you disseminate or cause to be dissemina	ated informational materials among any of
☐ Public officials	☐ Newspapers	☐ Libraries
☐ Legislators	☐ Editors	☐ Educational institutions
☐ Government agencies	☐ Civic groups or associations	☐ Nationality groups
Other (specify)		
21. What language was used in the int	formational materials:	
☐ English	Other (specify)	
22. Did you file with the Registration	Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of each	item of such informational materials
disseminated or caused to be disse	eminated during this 6 month reporting period?	Yes No No
	formational materials with the statement require	d by Section 4(b) of the Act?
Yes 🔲 No 🗆		

¹² The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

VI - EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)	(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signature
6-27-17	_ land / Manufet
	-

7017 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

¹³ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 361 of 577

Question 14(a) Receipts

Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.

Date	Foreign Principal	Purpose	Amount
1/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$225,000.00
2/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$1,950,000.00
3/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$700,000.00
4/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$1,350,000.00
5/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$535,000.00
6/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$650,000.00
8/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$620,000.00
9/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$1,280,000.00
10/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$400,000.00
11/2012	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$4,399,500.00

2017 JUN 27 PH 4: 52

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABU Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 362 of 577 Question 15(a) Disbursements

Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.

Date	Contractor	Purpose	Amount
<u>.</u>	Januar	y June 2012	
5/16/2012	Fabrizio Ward Associates LLC	Polling and surveys	\$35,000.00
6/27/2012	Rabin Strasburg LLC	Media consulting services	\$91,693.00
		ecember 2012	
7/31/2012	Rabin Strasburg LLC	Consulting services and expenses	\$65,631.00
8/28/2012	Steven J. Brown	Political and media outreach	\$20,000.00
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10/1/2012	Rabin Strasburg LLC	Media consulting services	\$53,899.00
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10/31/2012	Clear Dialogue LLC	Election integrity consulting services	\$10,500.00
10/31/2012	Rabin Strasburg LLC	Media consulting services	\$83,832.00
11/7/2012	Fabrizio Ward Associates LLC	Polling and surveys	\$35,000.00
11/7/2012	Fabrizio Ward Associates LLC	Polling and surveys	\$35,000.00
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12/28/2012	Steven J. Brown	Political and media outreach	\$5,000.00

Other Expenses

Purpose	Amount
Ja	nnuary – June 2012
Travel	\$648,840.83
Meals/Living Expenses	\$88,404.45
	ly – December 2012
Travel	\$769,928.53
Meals/Living Expenses	\$99,812.72

SOIT JUN 27 PM 4: 52

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 363 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement

Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

For Six Month Period Ending 12/31/2012

(Insert date)

I - REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registra	nt
-------------------------	----

(b) Registration No.

DMP International, LLC

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418 6440

2.	Has there been a change in the information (a) If an individual:	mation previously	y furnished in connection with the following?		
	(1) Residence address(es)	Yes 🗆	No 🗆		
	(2) Citizenship	Yes 🗆	No 🗆		
	(3) Occupation	Yes	No 🗆		
	(b) If an organization:(1) Name(2) Ownership or control(3) Branch offices	Yes Yes Yes	No ⊠ No ⊠ No ⊠	2017 JUN 2	MSO/CES/
	(c) Explain fully all changes, if an	y, indicated in Ite	ms (a) and (b) above.	27 PM	
				կ։ 52	2

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).

3.	If you have previo	usly filed Exhibit C1, state whether any	changes there	in have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.
	Yes 🗆	No ⊠		
	If yes, have you fil	led an amendment to the Exhibit C?	Yes 🗆	No □
	If no, please attach	the required amendment.		

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 364 of 577

(PAGE 2)

4. (a) Have any persons ceased	acting as partners, officers, director	s or similar officials of the regi	strant during this	6 month reporting peri-
Yes □	No ⊠			
If yes, furnish the follow	ing information:			
Name	-	Position	Date Con	nection Ended
				•
(b) Have any persons becom Yes □	e partners, officers, directors or simi No ⊠	lar officials during this 6 mont	h reporting period	?
If yes, furnish the follow	ing information:			
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
·				
		•		
5. (a) Has any person named in	Item 4(b) rendered services directly	in furtherance of the interests	of any foreign pri	ncinal?
Yes 🔲	No □		or mily rough but	b -
If yes, identify each such	person and describe the service ren	dered,		
	-	•		
				,
(b) During this six month rep or will render services to secretarial, or in a related	orting period, has the registrant hire the registrant directly in furtherance or similar capacity? Yes	d as employees or in any other of the interests of any foreign No 区	capacity, any per principal(s) in oth	sons who rendered er than a clerical or
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
•				
				•
	·			
		•		
(c) Have any employees or it	idividuals, who have filed a short fo	rm registration statement, term	inated their emplo	yment or
connection with the regis	trant during this 6 month reporting p	period? Yes 🗆 💮 🗈	√o ⊠	
If yes, furnish the following	ng information:			
Name	Pos	ition or Connection	Da	te Terminated
•				
	dividuals, who have filed a short fo		inated their conne	ction with any foreign
principal during this 6 mo	nth reporting period? Yes 🗆	No 🗵		
If yes, furnish the followi	ng information:	•		
Name	Position or Connection	Foreign Principal	Da	te Terminated
- ·	L John of Commonion	- orongu r imothat	Sa	
•				
•			•	
. Have short form registration	statements been filed by all of the p	ersons named in Items 5(a) an	d 5(b) of the sunni	emental statement?
' Yes □	No □	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	(-)	
	who have not filed the required state	ment	•	•

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 365 of 577

(PAGE 3)

T	Ι	T	ΛR	ET	CN	PR	IN	CIP.	AT.
			UI		C11.1	1 13		U.U.	~~

7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting peri If yes, furnish the following information:	od? 'Yes □	No ⊠
Foreign Principal	Date of Termination	
	•	
8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal(s) ² during this 6 month reporting period? If yes, furnish th following information:	Yes 🗆	No 🗵
Name and Address of Foreign Principal(s)	Date Acquired	
		•
 In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s)² whom you or reporting period. 	continued to represent	during the 6 mon
	continued to represent	during the 6 mon
reporting period.	continued to represent	during the 6 mon
reporting period.	continued to represent	during the 6 mont
reporting period.	continued to represent	during the 6 mont
reporting period.	continued to represent	during the 6 mon
reporting period.	continued to represent	during the 6 mon
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions 10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in		during the 6 mon
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions 10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Exhibit A³ Yes □ No □		during the 6 mont
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions 10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Exhibit A ³ Yes No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No		during the 6 mon
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions 10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Exhibit A ³ Yes No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No If no, please attach the required exhibit.	Item 8?	
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions 10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Exhibit A ³ Yes No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign	Item 8? gn principal whom you	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions 10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Exhibit A ³ Yes No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign represented during this six month period? No	Item 8?	

² The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

³ The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3, sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁴ The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4, sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 366 of 577

(PAGE 4)

III - ACTIVITIES

11,	During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ⊠ No □
	If yes, identify each foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:
	Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine for the 2012 legislative election and 2012 local elections by implementing pro-democratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs. Communicated with the U.S. Embassy in Kiev regarding developing events in Ukraine. Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic
	integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose.
12.	During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity ⁵ as defined below? Yes No
	If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.
	Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.
	10/30/12 Email to Ambassador John Tefft regarding U.S. statement on Ukrainian elections.
13.	In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes No No
	If yes, describe fully.

^{5 &}quot;Political activity," as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act, means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

(PAGE 5)

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a)	statement, or from an	reporting period, have y	n the interests of	n any foreign principal na any such foreign principa No	nmed in Items II, any contribu	7, 8, or 9 of this ations, income or
	If no, explain why.					
	If yes, set forth below	v in the required detail a	and separately for	r each foreign principal a	n account of s	uch monies. ⁶
	Date Please see attached.	From Whom		Purpose		Amount
				•		
						·
	·					
					<u></u>	Total
(b)	During this 6 month r	RAISING CAMPAIG reporting period, have y led in Items 7, 8, or 9 or	ou received, as p	art of a fundraising camp Yes □	oaign ⁷ , any mo No ⊠	ney on behalf of any
		an Exhibit D ⁸ to your r		Yes □	No □	
	If yes, indicate the da	te the Exhibit D was fil	ed. Date			
(c)		eporting period, have y		thing of value ⁹ other than source, for or in the inter		
	If yes, furnish the foll	owing information:				
	Foreign Principal	Date	Received	Thing of Value		Purpose

^{6, 7} A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising campaign. (See Rule 201(e)).

⁸ An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 368 of 577

(1) disbursed or expe 9 of this statemen	eporting period, have you ended monies in connection with a nt? Yes ⊠ No □	activity on behalf of a	any foreign principal	named in Items 7, 8, c
(2) transmitted moni	es to any such foreign principal?	Yes □	No 🗵	
If no, explain in full d	etail why there were no disbursen	nents made on behalf	of any foreign princ	pal.
If yes, set forth below monies transmitted, if	in the required detail and separate any, to each foreign principal.	ely for each foreign p	rincipal an account c	f such monies, includ
Date Please see attached.	To Whom	P	игроse	Amount
		•		
		·		
				·
		.*		

Total

· Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 369 of 577

(PAGE 7)

(b)	During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value ¹⁰ other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?								
		Yes 🗆	No 🗵						
	If yes, furnish th	e following info	rmation:						
	Date	Recipient	Foreign	Principal	Thing of Value	Purpose			
				-					
				·					
			•						
(c)	During this 6 mo	onth reporting pender any contribution	tions of money or oth	your own funds an er things of value	d on your own behalf eithe in connection with an ele s held to select candidates	ection to any political			
		Yes 🗵	No 🗆						
	If yes, furnish th	e following info	rmation:						
	Date	Amount	or Thing of Value	Political Or	ganization or Candidate	Location of Event			
	8/24/12	2500.00		Vernon Parke	er - Arizona State Office				

(PAGE 8)

V-INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. (a) During this 6 month repo	orting period, did you prepar	e, disseminate or cause to	be disseminated any informational materials?
If Yes, go to Item 17.	140 M		•
(b) If you answered No to Ite	am 16(a). do you dissiminat	0 augustaile	
Yes	No 🗵	e any material in connection	n with your registration?
 -		the six month period to the	Registration Unit for review.
17. Identify each such foreign pr			
The reasons, and parent to take by	Morpat.		·
			·
			t or allocated a specified sum of money to
finance your activities in pre	paring or disseminating info	rmational materials?	Yes 🗆 No 🗵
If yes, identify each such for	eign principal, specify amou	nt, and indicate for what p	eriod of time.
10 During this Consult			
materials include the use of a	g period, and your activities	in preparing, disseminating	g or causing the dissemination of informations
	☐ Magazine or newspaper	☐ Motion picture films	☐ Letters or telegrams
☐ Advertising campaigns			iblications Lectures or speeches
Other (specify)		-	•
Electronic Communications		· ·	
□ Email	·		
☐ Website URL(s):	•		
			
Other (specify)	/·		
20. During this 6 month reporting	g period, did you disseminat	e or cause to be disseminat	ted informational materials among any of
the following groups:			
☐ Public officials	☐ Newsp	•	☐ Libraries
☐ Legislators	☐ Editor:	S	☐ Educational institutions
☐ Government agencies	☐ Civic₁	groups or associations	☐ Nationality groups
☐ Other (specify)			
21. What language was used in the	ne informational materials:		
☐ English	☐ Oth	er (specify)	<u> </u>
		·	
 Did you file with the Registra disseminated or caused to be 			tem of such informational materials
23. Did you label each item of su	ch informational materials v	vith the statement required	by Section 4(b) of the Act?
Yes □ No □		•	
12. The term informational materials include:	s any oral visual graphic written or	nictorial information or matter of a	ny kind including that nublished by means of advertising

¹² The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

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(Date of signature)	(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signature 13
6-27-17	Paul J Manufit
	_

WSD/CES/INCOLOR

¹³ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 372 of 577 Question 14(a) Receipts

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Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19ⁱ Page 373 of 577 <u>Question 15(a) Disbursements</u>

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•	July –	- December 2012					
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Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 374 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement

Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

For Six Month	Period	Ending	6/30/2013
---------------	--------	--------	-----------

(Insert date)

I-REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant

(b) Registration No.

6440

DMP International, LLC

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418

(a)	If an individual:				
	(1) Residence address(es)	Yes 🗆	No 🗆		-
	(2) Citizenship	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	20	/USB
	(3) Occupation	Yes 🗌	No □	Ţ	3/0
(b)	If an organization:			2017 JUN	CFF
	(I) Name	Yes 🗆	No ⊠	N	C=
	(2) Ownership or control	Yes	No ⊠	-1	=
	(3) Branch offices	Yes 🗆	No ⊠	PM	5
(c)	Explain fully all changes, if an	y, indicated in Ite	ms (a) and (b) above.	£.	3
				S	

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).

3.	If you have previo	usly filed Exhibit C1, state whether any	changes there	in have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.
	Yes □	No ⊠		
	If yes, have you fil	led an amendment to the Exhibit C?	Yes 🗆	No 🗆
	If no please attach	the required amendment		

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

. Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 375 of 577 (PAGE 2) 4. (a) Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes 🖂

If yes, furnish the follo Name		Position	Date Con	nection Ended
(b) Have any persons become Yes □	ne partners, officers, directors of No 🗵	r similar officials during this 6 mo	onth reporting period	1?
If yes, furnish the follo Name	wing information: Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
a) Has any person named i Yes 🔲	n Item 4(b) rendered services die No ⊠	rectly in furtherance of the interes	sts of any foreign pri	ncipal?
If yes, identify each such	ch person and describe the service	e rendered.		
	the registrant directly in further	It hired as employees or in any other in the interests of any foreing No		
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
•		,		
	istrant during this 6 month repor	ort form registration statement, to ting period? Yes	rminated their empl No ⊠	oyment or
Name	ving information:	Position or Connection	De	te Terminated
rumo		Toshion of Connection	Da	ne reminated
principal during this 6 m	onth reporting period? Yes [ort form registration statement, te	rminated their conne	ection with any foreign
If yes, furnish the follow	_		_	
Name	Position or Connection	Foreign Principal	Da	te Terminated
				<u> </u>
	n statements been filed by all of			

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 376 of 577

(PAGE 3)

II .	FOR	FICN	PRINCIP	AT.
11 -	1 () ()		F IN LIVE. III	~

Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting peri If yes, furnish the following information:	iod? Yes □	No ⊠
Foreign Principal	Date of Terminat	tion
		•
Have you acquired any new foreign principal(s) ² during this 6 month reporting period? If yes, furnish th following information:	Yes 🗆	No 🗵
Name and Address of Foreign Principal(s)	Date Acquired	
In addition to those named in Items 7 and 9 if any list foreign winding (1)2 u.h		
In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s) ² whom you c reporting period.	continued to represe	nt during the 6 m
In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s) ² whom you c reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions	continued to represe	nt during the 6 m
reporting period.	continued to represe	nt during the 6 m
reporting period.	continued to represe	nt during the 6 m
reporting period.	continued to represe	nt during the 6 m
reporting period.	continued to represe	nt during the 6 m
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions		nt during the 6 m
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in I Exhibit A ³ Yes No		nt during the 6 m
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in I Exhibit A ³ Yes \(\Bar{Y}\) No \(\Bar{Y}\) Exhibit B ⁴ Yes \(\Bar{Y}\) No \(\Bar{Y}\)		nt during the 6 m
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in I Exhibit A ³ Yes \(\square \text{No} \square \text{No} \square \text{Exhibit B}^4 Yes \(\square \text{No} \square \text{No} \square \text{If no, please attach the required exhibit.}	Item 8?	
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in I Exhibit A³ Yes □ No □ Exhibit B⁴ Yes □ No □ If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreig	item 8? sn principal whom y	
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in I Exhibit A ³ Yes No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No I If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreig represented during this six month period? Yes No	Item 8?	

² The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

³ The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3, sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁴ The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4, sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 377 of 577

(PAGE 4)

III - ACTIVITIES

11.	During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ⊠ No □
	If yes, identify each foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:
	Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine by implementing prodemocratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs. Communicated with the U.S. Embassy in Kiev regarding developing events in Ukraine. Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose.
12.	. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity ⁵ as defined below Yes ⊠ No □
	If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.
	Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.
	3/19/13 Meeting with Paula Dobriansky, Kennedy School of Government 3/19/13 Meeting with Nadia Diuk, National Endowment for Democracy 3/19/13 Meeting with Rep. Rohrabacher
13.	In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes □ No ⊠
	If yes, describe fully.

^{5 &}quot;Political activity," as defined in Section I(o) of the Act, means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

· Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 378 of 577

(PAGE 5)

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

4. (a)	RECEIPTS-MONIES During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No					
	If no, explain why.					
	If yes, set forth below	in the required detail and separately for e	each foreign principal an	account of suc	ch monies. ⁶	
	Date Please see attached	From Whom	Purpose		Amount	
					·	
					Total	
(b)	During this 6 month re	RAISING CAMPAIGN reporting period, have you received, as parted in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?	rt of a fundraising campa Yes □	nign ⁷ , any mon No ⊠	ey on behalf of any	
	If yes, have you filed a	nn Exhibit D ⁸ to your registration?	Yes 🗆	No □		
	If yes, indicate the date	e the Exhibit D was filed. Date				
(c)	RECEIPTS-THINGS During this 6 month re named in Items 7, 8, or Yes	FOF VALUE porting period, have you received any the r 9 of this statement, or from any other so No 区	ning of value ⁹ other than ource, for or in the intere	money from ar sts of any such	ny foreign principal foreign principal?	
	If yes, furnish the follo	owing information:				
	Foreign Principal	Date Received	Thing of Value		Purpose	

^{6,7} A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising campaign. (See Rule 201(e)).

⁸ An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 379 of 577

F (-)	DICOLIDORATO	NTC MONIEC			
5. (a)	DISBURSEMENT During this 6 mo	NTS-MONIES nth reporting period, have you	•		
	(1) disbursed or	expended monies in connection with acti	vity on behalf o	of any foreign principa	l named in Items 7, 8, or
		tement? Yes 🗵 No 🗌			
	(2) transmitted	monies to any such foreign principal?	Yes 🔲	No ⊠	
	If no, explain in t	full detail why there were no disbursemen	ts made on beh	alf of any foreign prin	cipal.
	If yes, set forth b	elow in the required detail and separately ed, if any, to each foreign principal.	for each foreig	n principal an account	of such monies, including
	Date	To Whom		Purpose	Amount
	Please see			P-2-2	
	attached				
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Total

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Case 1:17-cr-00201-AÉJ	Document 525-2	Filed 02/23/19	Page 380 of 577

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٠.		•	_	.,

(b)	DISBURSEMENTS-THINGS OF VALUE During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value to other than money in furtherance of or connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?							
	connection with	Yes	TOT ally to reign prine No⊠	cipal named in I	iems 7, 8, or 9 of this state	ment?		
	If yes, furnish th	ne following inform	nation:			•		
	Date	Recipient	Foreign P	rincipal	Thing of Value	Purpose		
						•		
		•		e e				
(c)	During this 6 mo	onth reporting perion ade any contribution	ns of money or other	ur own funds an things of value	d on your own behalf eith I in connection with an ele s held to select candidates	ection to any political		
		Yes 🗷	No □					
	If yes, furnish th	e following inform	ation:					
	Date 3/22/13	Amount or '	Thing of Value	Political Or Dana Rohrab	ganization or Candidate pacher	Location of Event		

^{10, 11} Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 381 of 577

(PAGE 8)

V-INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. (a) During this 6 month rep	porting period, did you prepare	e, disseminate or cause to b	e disseminated any informational materials?
If Yes, go to Item 17.	,		
• •	tem 16(a), do you disseminate No ⊠	any material in connection	n with your registration?
If Yes, please forward the n	naterials disseminated during	the six month period to the	Registration Unit for review.
17. Identify each such foreign p	orincipal.		
18. During this 6 month reporti	ng period, has any foreign pri	ncipal established a budget	or allocated a specified sum of money to
finance your activities in pr	eparing or disseminating infor	mational materials?	Yes ☐ No ☒
If yes, identify each such fo	reign principal, specify amou	nt, and indicate for what pe	riod of time.
		•	
•			
19. During this 6 month reportion materials include the use of	ng period, did your activities i any of the following:	n preparing, disseminating	or causing the dissemination of informationa
Radio or TV broadcasts	☐ Magazine or newspaper	-	☐ Letters or telegrams
☐ Advertising campaigns		☐ Pamphlets or other pu	blications Lectures or speeches
Other (specify)			
Electronic Communications	·		
☐ Email			
☐ Website URL(s):			
☐ Social media websites URL(
Other (specify)			
20. During this 6 month reporting the following groups:	ng period, did you disseminate	e or cause to be disseminat	ed informational materials among any of
☐ Public officials	☐ Newsp	apers	☐ Libraries
☐ Legislators	☐ Editors		☐ Educational institutions
☐ Government agencies	☐ Civic g	roups or associations	☐ Nationality groups
Other (specify)			
21. What language was used in	the informational materials:	7	
☐ English	□ Othe	er (specify)	
	ration Unit, U.S. Department of disseminated during this 6 m		em of such informational materials Yes ☐ No ☐
23. Did you label each item of s Yes ☐ No ☐	 ,	rith the statement required	by Section 4(b) of the Act?

¹² The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

VI - EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)	(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signature
6-07-12	- Paul J Marufit

2017 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

¹³ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 383 of 577

Question 14(a) Receipts

Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.

Date	Foreign Principal	Purpose	Amount
1/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$400,000.00
2/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$200,000.00
3/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$500,000.00
4/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$490,000.00
5/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$355,000.00
6/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$375,000.00
7/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$315,000.00
8/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$525,000.00
9/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$415,000.00
10/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$500,000.00
11/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$300,000.00
12/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$165,039.70

2017 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

Question 15(a) Disbursements

Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.

Date	Contractor	Purpose	Amount	
	January	- June 2013		
1/4/2013	Fabrizio Ward Associates LLC	Polling and surveys	\$35,000.00	
3/5/2013	Steven J. Brown	Political and media outreach	\$5,000.00	
6/17/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$73,000.00	
	July – De	cember 2013		
7/15/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$71,450.00	
8/8/2013	Fabrizio Ward Associates LLC	Polling and surveys	\$30,000.00	
8/8/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$73,550.00	
8/30/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$65,000.00	
8/30/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00	
10/3/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00	
10/3/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$53,500.00	
10/30/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00	
10/30/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$38,000.00	
12/13/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$21,000.00	
12/13/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00	

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ONE: REDVOERNBECTOR CORRE Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 385 of 577

Other Expenses

Purpose	Amount
J	anuary – June 2013
Travel	\$357,628.72
Meals/Living Expenses	\$83,794.14
Ju	ıly – December 2013
Travel	\$309,193.12
Meals/Living Expenses	\$119,578.07

2017 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-224-Filed 02/23/19 20 Rage 386 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement

Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

For Six Month Period Ending 12/31/13

(Insert date)

I - REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant

(b) Registration No.

DMP International, LLC

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418

2.	Has there been a change in the infor (a) If an individual:	mation previously	y furnished in connection with the following?		
	(1) Residence address(es)	Yes 🗆	No 🗆		
	(2) Citizenship	Yes 🗆	No 🗆		
	(3) Occupation	Yes	No 🗆		
	(b) If an organization:			2017 JUN	NSD/CES
	(1) Name	Yes 🗆	No ⊠		0
	(2) Ownership or control	Yes	No ⊠	5	53
	(3) Branch offices	Yes 🗆	No ⊠	27	C.
	(c) Explain fully all changes, if an	y, indicated in Ite	ms (a) and (b) above.	PM 4:	51.151.45
				2	2.00

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).

3.	If you have previo	usly filed Exhibit C1, state whether any	changes there	in have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.
	Yes 🗆	No ⊠		
	If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C?		Yes 🗆	No □
	If no, please attach the required amendment.			

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

	ed acting as partners, officers, director		ion and our mg and a	monar reporting per
Yes 🗆	No 🗵			
If yes, furnish the follo	wing information:		D . 0	
Name		Position	Date Con	nection Ended
				•
	me partners, officers, directors or sim	ilar officials during this 6 mon-	th reporting period	?
Yes □	No ⊠			
If yes, furnish the follo				
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
			•	
•				
a) Has any person named i	in Item 4(b) rendered services directly	v in furtherance of the interests	of any foreign prin	icinal?
Yes □	No ⊠	, ,	or any torong prin	iorpai.
If yes, identify each suc	ch person and describe the service ren	idered.		
•	•			
) During this six month re	eporting period, has the registrant hire	ed as employees or in any other	r canacity, any nen	one who rendered
or will render services to	the registrant directly in furtherance	of the interests of any foreign	reapacity, any pers nrincinal(s) in other	er than a clerical or
secretarial, or in a relate		No ⊠	p p	
-		_		_
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
	•			
•				
	individuals, who have filed a short for			yment or
_	istrant during this 6 month reporting	period? Yes ∐ 1	Vo ⊠	
	ving information:			
If yes, furnish the follow				
Name	<u> </u>	sition or Connection	Dat	e Terminated
_	<u> </u>	sition or Connection	Dat	e Terminated
_	<u> </u>	sition or Connection	Dat	e Terminated
_	<u> </u>	sition or Connection	Dat	e Terminated
Name	Pos			
Name Have any employees or	Pos individuals, who have filed a short fo	orm registration statement, term		
Name	Pos individuals, who have filed a short fo			
Name Have any employees or	Pos individuals, who have filed a short fo nonth reporting period? Yes	orm registration statement, term		
Name Have any employees or principal during this 6 m	Pos individuals, who have filed a short fo nonth reporting period? Yes	orm registration statement, term No 区	ninated their conne	
Name Have any employees or principal during this 6 m If yes, furnish the follow	Posindividuals, who have filed a short for nonth reporting period? Yes	orm registration statement, term	ninated their conne	ction with any foreig
Name Have any employees or principal during this 6 m If yes, furnish the follow	Posindividuals, who have filed a short for nonth reporting period? Yes	orm registration statement, term No 凶	ninated their conne	ction with any foreig
Name Have any employees or principal during this 6 m If yes, furnish the follow	Posindividuals, who have filed a short for nonth reporting period? Yes	orm registration statement, term No 凶	ninated their conne	ction with any foreig
Name Have any employees or principal during this 6 m If yes, furnish the follow	Posindividuals, who have filed a short for nonth reporting period? Yes	orm registration statement, term No 凶	ninated their conne	ction with any foreig

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 388 of 577

(PAGE 3)

TT	Tr.	ΛD	T.	ΛN.	PRI	N	\sim m	AT
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. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period? If yes, furnish the following information:	Yes □	No 🗵
Foreign Principal Da	ate of Termination	i
Have you acquired any new foreign principal(s) ² during this 6 month reporting period? If yes, furnish th following information:	Yes 🗆	No ⊠
Name and Address of Foreign Principal(s)	Date Acquired	
In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s) ² whom you conting period.	nued to represent	during the 6 mo
In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s) ² whom you conting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions	nued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	nued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	nued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	nued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period.	nued to represent	during the 6 mo
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item		during the 6 mo
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions		during the 6 mo
reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions O. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item Exhibit A ³ Yes \(\square \) No \(\square \)		during the 6 mo
Ukrainian Party of Regions (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item Exhibit A ³ Yes \(\Boxed{1}\) No \(\Boxed{1}\) Exhibit B ⁴ Yes \(\Boxed{1}\) No \(\Boxed{1}\) If no, please attach the required exhibits. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item No \(\Boxed{1}\)	8?	
Ukrainian Party of Regions O. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item Exhibit A ³ Yes \Boxedown No \Boxedown Exhibit B ⁴ Yes \Boxedown No \Boxedown If no, please attach the required exhibit.	8?	

² The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

³ The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3, sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁴ The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4, sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 389 of 577

(PAGE 4)

III - ACTIVITIES

11	. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ⊠ No □
	If yes, identify each foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:
	Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine by implementing prodemocratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs. Communicated with the U.S. Embassy in Kiev regarding developing events in Ukraine. Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose.
12.	. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity ⁵ as defined below? Yes □ No ☑
	If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.
	Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.
13.	In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes 口 No 区
	If yes, describe fully.

^{5 &}quot;Political activity," as defined in Section I(o) of the Act, means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

(PAGE 5)

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a)	statement, or from any	S eporting period, have you received from any other source, for or in the interests of any ensation or otherwise? Yes	ny foreign principal na v such foreign principa No □	med in Items 7, 8, or l, any contributions,	r 9 of this income or
	If no, explain why.				
	If yes, set forth below	in the required detail and separately for ea	ich foreign principal a	n account of such mo	onies. ⁶
	Date Please see attached	From Whom	Purpose		Amount
			•		
	•				
		•	•		Total
(b)	During this 6 month re	RAISING CAMPAIGN porting period, have you received, as part			behalf of any
		d in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?	Yes 🗆	No 🗵	
	If yes, have you filed a	n Exhibit D ⁸ to your registration?	Yes 🗆	No 🗖	
	If yes, indicate the date	e the Exhibit D was filed. Date			
(c)	RECEIPTS-THINGS During this 6 month re named in Items 7, 8, or Yes	OF VALUE porting period, have you received any thin 9 of this statement, or from any other sou	ng of value ⁹ other than urce, for or in the inter	money from any for ests of any such fore	reign principal ign principal?
	If yes, furnish the follo	wing information:			
	Foreign Principal	Date Received	Thing of Value	P	urpose

^{6, 7} A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising campaign. (See Rule 201(e)).

⁸ An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 391 of 577

						(PAGE	6)
15. (a)	During this 6 m (1) disbursed of	ENTS-MONIES conth reporting perior expended monies atement? Yes		ivity on behalf of	any foreign principa	I named in Items 7, 8, or	
	(2) transmitted	I monies to any such	foreign principal?	Yes 🗆	No 🗵		
	If no, explain in	full detail why there	e were no disbursemer	its made on behal	lf of any foreign prin	cipal.	
	If yes, set forth monies transmit	below in the requirented, if any, to each f	d detail and separately oreign principal.	for each foreign	principal an account	of such monies, including	ıg
,	Date Please see	To	Whom	ľ	Purpose	Amount	
	attached						•
					·		
			÷			•	
	,				•		
		•					
,							
						,	

Total

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Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ	Document 525-2	Filed 02/23/19	Page 392 of 577

(PAGE 7)

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value to other than money in further connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?						
		Yes □	No ⊠			
	If yes, furnish th	e following infor	mation:	•		
	Date	Recipient	Fo	reign Principal	Thing of Value	Purpose
•						
(c)	During this 6 mo	de any contribution	iod, have you fons of money o	rom your own funds or other things of valu	and on your own behalf eithe ue ¹¹ in connection with an ele cus held to select candidates	ction to any political
		Yes 🗆	No 🗵			
	If yes, furnish the	e following inform	nation:			
	Date	Amount or	Thing of Valu	e Political	Organization or Candidate	Location of Event

^{10, 11} Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

(PAGE 8)

V-INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. (a) During this 6 month re	porting period, did you prepar	e, disseminate or cause to	be disseminated any informational materials?
If Yes, go to Item 17.	NO 🖸		•
· •	Item 16(a), do you disseminate	e any material in connectio	an with your registration?
Yes	No 🗵	c any material in connection	in with your registration:
If Yes, please forward the	-	the six month period to the	e Registration Unit for review.
17. Identify each such foreign	principal.		<u> </u>
	•		
,	•		
•			
18. During this 6 month report	ing period, has any foreign pri	ncinal established a budge	t or allocated a specified sum of money to
	reparing or disseminating info		Yes ☐ No ☐
	oreign principal, specify amou		·
	ro-B Frint-Pari, Spoots, amou	m, and maioute for what p	oriod of time.
During this 6 month reporti materials include the use of	ing period, did your activities fany of the following:	in preparing, disseminating	g or causing the dissemination of informationa
☐ Radio or TV broadcasts	☐ Magazine or newspaper	☐ Motion picture films	☐ Letters or telegrams
☐ Advertising campaigns	☐ Press releases	☐ Pamphlets or other pu	blications Lectures or speeches
Other (specify)			<u> </u>
Electronic Communications			
☐ Email			
Website URL(s):			
☐ Social media websites URL((s):		
Other (specify)			
			ted informational materials among any of
the following groups:	ng portod, did you disseminat	or cause to be dissemiliar	the informational materials allieng any of
☐ Public officials	☐ Newsp	papers	☐ Libraries
☐ Legislators	☐ Editors	5	☐ Educational institutions
☐ Government agencies	☐ Civic {	groups or associations	☐ Nationality groups
☐ Other (specify)			
21. What language was used in	the informational materials:		
English	☐ Oth	er (specify)	
22. Did you file with the Regist	ration Unit U.S. Department	of Justice a conv of each it	tem of such informational materials
disseminated or caused to b	e disseminated during this 6 n	nonth reporting period?	Yes No No
23. Did you label each item of s	such informational materials v	vith the statement required	by Section 4(b) of the Act?
Yes □ No □			

¹² The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

VI - EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)	(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signature 13)
6-2717	Paul J Hauft
<u> </u>	- /-

2017 IIIM 27 PH 4: 52

¹³ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 395 of 577

Question 14(a) Receipts

Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.

Date	Foreign Principal	Purpose	Amount
1/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$400,000.00
2/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$200,000.00
3/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$500,000.00
4/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$490,000.00
5/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$355,000.00
6/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$375,000.00
7/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$315,000.00
8/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$525,000.00
9/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$415,000.00
10/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$500,000.00
11/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$300,000.00
12/2013	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$165,039.70

2017 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

Question 15(a) Disbursements

Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.

Date	Contractor	Purpose	Amount
<u>, </u>	January	- June 2013	
1/4/2013	Fabrizio Ward Associates LLC	Polling and surveys	\$35,000.00
3/5/2013	Steven J. Brown	Political and media outreach	\$5,000.00
6/17/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$73,000.00
	July – De	cember 2013	
7/15/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$71,450.00
8/8/2013	Fabrizio Ward Associates LLC	Polling and surveys	\$30,000.00
8/8/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$73,550.00
8/30/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$65,000.00
8/30/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00
10/3/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00
10/3/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$53,500.00
10/30/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00
10/30/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$38,000.00
12/13/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$21,000.00
12/13/2013	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00

2011 JUN 27 PH 4: 52

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 397 of 577

Other Expenses

Purpose	Amount
J	anuary – June 2013
Travel	\$357,628.72
Meals/Living Expenses	\$83,794.14
Jı	uly – December 2013
Travel	\$309,193.12
Meals/Living Expenses	\$119,578.07

2017 IIIN 27 PM 4: 52

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2124 Filed 02/23/19 Page 398 of 577

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement

Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

For Six Month Period Ending 6/30/14

(Insert date)

I -]	\mathbf{RE}	Gl	ST	RA	N	Т
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1.	(a)	Name of Registrant
	(/	

(b) Registration No.

DMP International, LLC

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant 10 St. James Drive Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418

(a) If an individual:(1) Residence address(es)	Yes □	No П	1
(2) Citizenship	Yes □	No 🗆	
(3) Occupation	Yes 🗆	No □	
(b) If an organization:			2017 JUN 27
(1) Name	Yes 🗆	No ⊠	_
(2) Ownership or control	Yes 🗆	No ⊠	-
(3) Branch offices	Yes	No ⊠	27 27
(c) Explain fully all changes, if a	ny, indicated in Ite	ms (a) and (b) above.	P
			#:
			CT

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).

3.	If you have previo	usly filed Exhibit C1, state whether any	changes there	in have occurred during t	his 6 month reporting period.
	Yes □	No ⊠			
	If yes, have you fil	ed an amendment to the Exhibit C?	Yes 🗆	No 🗆	
	If no, please attach	the required amendment.			

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 399 of 577

(PAGE 2)

4. (a) Have any persons cease	d acting as partners, officers, directors	or similar officials of the regi	strant during this	6 month reporting period
Yes □	No ⊠	J	-	· •.
If yes, furnish the follo	wing information:			
Name		Position	Date Con	nection Ended
	•			
(b) Have any persons become Yes	ne partners, officers, directors or simi No 区	lar officials during this 6 mont	h reporting period	1?
If yes, furnish the follo-	wing information:			
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
• -			•	
		•		
(a) Has any person named i	n Item 4(b) rendered services directly	in furtherance of the interests	of any foreign pri	ncipal?
Yes 🗌	No ⊠			-
If yes, identify each suc	h person and describe the service ren	dered.		
•				
	eporting period, has the registrant hire the registrant directly in furtherance d or similar capacity? Yes			
Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
•				
	individuals, who have filed a short for strant during this 6 month reporting p		ninated their empl	oyment or
If yes, furnish the follow				
Name	Posi	tion or Connection	Da	te Terminated
	•			
•				•
(d) Have any employees or i principal during this 6 m	individuals, who have filed a short for conth reporting period? Yes	m registration statement, term No 🗵	inated their conne	ection with any foreign
If yes, furnish the follow	ing information:			
Name	Position or Connection	Foreign Principal	Da	te Terminated
		Ç F-	-	•
	•			
Have short form registration	n statements been filed by all of the p	ersons named in Items 5(a) and	d 5(b) of the sunn	lemental statement?
Yes □	No 🗆	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	(-,	
If no, list names of persons	who have not filed the required states	ment.		

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 400 of 577

(PAGE 3)

II ~	FOR	EIGN	PRINC	IPAL
------	-----	------	-------	------

Date of Termination	7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting If yes, furnish the following information:	g period?	Yes ⊠	No □
8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal(s)² during this 6 month reporting period? Yes \Boxed No \Boxed If yes, furnish th following information: Name and Address of Foreign Principal(s) Date Acquired 9. In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s)² whom you continued to represent during the 6 mon reporting period. Ukrainian Party of Regions 10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item 8? Exhibit A³ Yes \Boxed No \Boxed Exhibit B⁴ Yes \Boxed No \Boxed If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes \Boxed No \Boxed If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes \Boxed No \Boxed	Foreign Principal	Dat	e of Terminatio	n
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10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item 8? Exhibit A³ Yes □ No □ Exhibit B⁴ Yes □ No □ If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes □ No ☑ If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes □ No □	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
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Exhibit B ⁴ Yes \(\sum \cong \) No \(\sum \) If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes \(\sum \cong \) No \(\sum \) If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes \(\sum \cong \) No \(\sum \)				·
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(b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes ☐ No ☒ If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes ☐ No ☐	Exhibit A ³ Yes \(\square\) No \(\square\)	ed in Item 8	3?	
represented during this six month period? Yes ☐ No ☒ If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes ☐ No ☐	Exhibit A ³ Yes \(\square\) No \(\square\) Exhibit B ⁴ Yes \(\square\) No \(\square\)	ed in Item 8	3?	
represented during this six month period? Yes □ No ☒ If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes □ No ☒	Exhibit A^3 Yes \square No \square Exhibit B^4 Yes \square No \square	d in Item 8	??	
If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes \(\sigma\) No \(\sigma\)	Exhibit A ³ Yes \(\square\) No \(\square\) Exhibit B ⁴ Yes \(\square\) No \(\square\) If no, please attach the required exhibit.			ou
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	Exhibit A ³ Yes No No Exhibit B ⁴ Yes No No No If no, please attach the required exhibit. (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any represented during this six month period? Yes	foreign pri⊧ No ⊠		ou

² The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

³ The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3, sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁴ The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4, sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 401 of 577

(PAGE 4)

III - ACTIVITIES

11	During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ⊠ No □
	If yes, identify each foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:
	Focused on electing Party of Regions' candidates at the national and regional levels in the Ukraine by implementing prodemocratic campaign activities, engaging in party building activities, developing a party platform and political agenda, and implementing election planning, election integrity, and international election monitoring programs. Communicated with the U.S. Embassy in Kiev regarding developing events in Ukraine. Provided strategic counsel and advice to members of the Party of Regions regarding their interactions with U.S. government officials and other Western influential persons to advance the goal of greater political and economic integration between the Ukraine and the West. Provided advice to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, which was also working for the same purpose.
12	During this 6 month recenting point have you on held 6 for forming in its 1 month recenting point have your probable 6 for forming in its 1 month recenting point have your probable 6 for forming in its 1 month recenting point have your probable 6 for forming in its 1 month recenting point have your probable 6 for forming in its 1 month recenting point have your probable 6 for forming in its 1 month recenting point have your probable 6 for forming in its 1 month recenting point in its 1 month recent i
12.	During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity ⁵ as defined below? Yes ☐ No ☑
	If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.
	Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.
13.	In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes \(\subseteq \text{No} \(\subseteq \)
	If yes, describe fully.

^{5 &}quot;Political activity," as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act, means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

(PAGE 5)

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

4. (a)	statement, or from any	S eporting period, have you received from ar other source, for or in the interests of any ensation or otherwise? Yes ⊠			
	If no, explain why.				
				·	
	If yes, set forth below	in the required detail and separately for ea	ch foreign principal a	n account of suc	ch monies. ⁶
	Date Please see attached	From Whom	Purpose		Amount
				•	
					Total
(b)	During this 6 month re	RAISING CAMPAIGN eporting period, have you received, as part	- -		ey on behalf of any
	•	ed in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?	Yes □	No ⊠	
	If yes, have you filed a	an Exhibit D ⁸ to your registration?	· Yes □	No □	
	If yes, indicate the dat	e the Exhibit D was filed. Date			
(c)		S OF VALUE sporting period, have you received any thing 19 of this statement, or from any other so No 図			
	If yes, furnish the follo	owing information:			
	Foreign Principal	Date Received	Thing of Value		Purpose

^{6, 7} A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising

campaign. (See Rule 201(e)).

8 An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 403 of 577

					(PAGE 6)
15. (a)	DISBURSEMENTS- During this 6 month re (1) disbursed or expe 9 of this statement	eporting period, have you inded monies in connection with act	ivity on behalf of	any foreign principal	named in Items 7, 8, or
	(2) transmitted monie	es to any such foreign principal?	Yes 🗆	No ⊠	
	If no, explain in full de	etail why there were no disbursemer	its made on behal	f of any foreign princ	ipal.
	If yes, set forth below monies transmitted, if	in the required detail and separately any, to each foreign principal.	for each foreign	principal an account o	of such monies, including
	Date Please see attached	To Whom	. 1	Purpose	Amount
				•	. •
				•	· .

Total

		_	
Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ	Document 525-2	Eilad 02/23/10	Page 101 of 577
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(PAGE 7)	(P	Α	G	Е	7
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(0)	During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value ¹⁰ other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?					
		Yes □ N	√o ⊠			
	If yes, furnish th	ne following informat	tion:			
	Date	Recipient	Foreign P	rincipal	Thing of Value	Purpose
		•				
	•					
		•				
(c)	During this 6 mo	ade any contributions	, have you from yo of money or other	ur own funds and things of value i	on your own behalf eithen connection with an ele	ction to any political
		Yes 🗆 💮 N	√o ⊠			
	If yes, furnish th	e following informat	tion:			
	Date	Amount or Th	ning of Value	Political Orga	nization or Candidate	Location of Event

^{10. 11} Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 405 of 577

(PAGE 8)

V-INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. (a) During this 6 month repo	orting period, did you prepare, disseminate or ca	ause to be disseminated any informational materials?
If Yes, go to Item 17.	140 M	
_	em 16(a), do you disseminate any material in co	nnection with your registration?
Yes □	No ⊠	moodon wan your registration.
If Yes, please forward the ma	aterials disseminated during the six month perio	d to the Registration Unit for review.
17. Identify each such foreign pr	incipal.	
18. During this 6 month reporting	g period, has any foreign principal established	budget or allocated a specified sum of money to
	paring or disseminating informational materials	
If yes, identify each such fore	eign principal, specify amount, and indicate for	what period of time.
		•
19 During this 6 month reporting	r period did your activities in preparing disper	ninating or causing the dissemination of informationa
materials include the use of a	ny of the following:	minating of causing the dissemination of informationa
_	☐ Magazine or newspaper ☐ Motion picture	films
☐ Advertising campaigns	☐ Press releases ☐ Pamphlets or o	other publications Lectures or speeches
Other (specify)		
Electronic Communications		,
☐ Email		
☐ Website URL(s):		
☐ Social media websites URL(s)	: <u></u>	
Other (specify)	<u> </u>	
20. During this 6 month reporting	period, did you disseminate or cause to be dis	seminated informational materials among any of
the following groups:		
Public officials	□ Newspapers	☐ Libraries
☐ Legislators	☐ Editors	☐ Educational institutions
☐ Government agencies	☐ Civic groups or associatio	ns
Other (specify)		
01 What		•
21. What language was used in th		
☐ English	☐ Other (specify)	
	tion Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of disseminated during this 6 month reporting peri	
1. 2		<u> </u>
23. Did you label each item of su Yes ☐ No ☐	ch informational materials with the statement re	equired by Section 4(b) of the Act?

¹² The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

VI - EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

Date of signature)	(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signa
6-27-17	- Law / Month
*	——————————————————————————————————————

2017 JUN 27 PM 4: 52

¹³ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 407 of 577

Question 14(a) Receipts

Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.

Date	Foreign Principal	Purpose	Amount
1/2014	Party of Regions	Services Rendered	\$500,000.00

2017 IIIN 27 PM 4: 52

Question 15(a) Disbursements

Please Note: The information contained in this filing, including but not limited to descriptions of activities giving rise to the Registrant's present registration and/or contemporaneous financial receipts or disbursements, reflect only Registrant's best recollection of relevant events and such records currently available, to the knowledge and belief of the Registrant, for review by the Registrant and his legal counsel. The Registrant may amend and/or supplement such disclosures should additional, relevant information become available.

Date	Contractor	Purpose	Amount
	Janua	ary – February 2014	
1/23/2014	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services	\$15,000.00
1/23/2014	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$39,500.00
1/28/2014	Konstantin Kilimnik	Professional services and administrative overhead for Kiev operations	\$21,000.00

Other Expenses

Purpose	Amount		
January – February 2014			
Travel	\$117,818.79		
Meals/Living Expenses	\$36,763.06		

EXHIBIT 941

as Amended

I-REGISTRANT

1. N	lame of the registrant.
P	aul J. Manafort Attorney at Law Gug No 35-94
2. B	usiness address.
32	24 North Fairfax Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314
3. If	the registrant is an individual, furnish the following information: Not Applicable
(a	Residence address.
(b)) Date and place of birth.
(c)	Present citizenship.
(d)) If present citizenship not acquired by birth, state when, where and how acquired.
(e)	Occupation.
	en de la companya de La companya de la co
1. If t	the registrant is not an individual, furnish the following information:
(a)	Type of organization: Committee Association Partnership
	Corporation Other (specify) Law Firm
(b)	Date and place of organization. Practicing Member of Bar since October, 1977
(c)	Address of principal office. 324 North Fairfax Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(d)	Name of person in charge. Paul J. Manafort, Jr.
(e)	Locations of branch or local offices in United States. Not Applicable
	If a membership organization, give number of members.



(PAGE 2)

(g) List all partners, officers, directors or persons performing the functions of an officer or director of the registrant.

Name	Residence Address	Position	Citizenship
Paul J. Manafort, Jr.	9357 Mount Vernon Circle Alexandria, Virginia 22309	Partner	U.S.

(h) Which of the above named persons renders services directly in furtherance of the interests of any of the foreign principals?

Paul J. Manafort, Jr.

(i) Describe the nature of the registrant's regular business or activity.

General Practice of Law

(j) Give a complete statement of the ownership and control of the registrant.

Partner

5. List all employees who render services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any of the foreign principals in other than a clerical, secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity.

Name Residence Address Nature of Services

Wayne L. Berman

9348 Mount Vernon Circle Alexandria, Virginia 22309

Consultant

II—FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

• • •	al	Principal Address	
The Government of	Saudi Arabia	Embassy of Saudi Ar 601 New Hampshire A Washington, D.C. 2	
		III—ACITVITIES	
		Exhibit B to this statement, will you engage or your foreign principals? Yes	are you now engaging in activi No ☑
If yes, describe fully			
		V—FINANCIAL INFORMATION	
(a) RECEIPTS—MONIES			
			0011 111 111
During the period beg		to the date of your obligation to register to the t d in Item 6 any contribution, income or mor \(\sum_{\text{X}}\) No \(\sum_{\text{I}}\)	
receive from any fore disbursement or othe	rwise? Yes		
disbursement or othe	•	ail and separately for each such foreign princ	pal an account of such monie
disbursement or othe If yes, set forth below Name of	in the required deta		pal an account of such monie
disbursement or othe	in the required deta		pal an account of such monie
disbursement or othe If yes, set forth below Name of Foreign Principal e Government of	in the required deta Date Received	ail and separately for each such foreign princi	Amount
disbursement or othe If yes, set forth below Name of Foreign Principal e Government of	in the required deta	ail and separately for each such foreign princ	
disbursement or othe If yes, set forth below Name of Foreign Principal e Government of	in the required deta Date Received	ail and separately for each such foreign princi	Amount
disbursement or othe If yes, set forth below Name of Foreign Principal e Government of	in the required deta Date Received	ail and separately for each such foreign princi	Amount
disbursement or othe If yes, set forth below Name of Foreign Principal e Government of	in the required deta Date Received	ail and separately for each such foreign princi	Amount
disbursement or othe If yes, set forth below Name of	in the required deta Date Received	ail and separately for each such foreign princi	Amount \$200,000.00
disbursement or othe If yes, set forth below Name of Foreign Principal e Government of	in the required deta Date Received	ail and separately for each such foreign princi	Amount

¹The term "foreign principal" includes a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization, foreign individual and, for the purpose of registration, an organization or an individual any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual.

²A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. There is no printed form for his exhibit. See Rule 201(e).

<i>(h)</i> 1	RECEIPTS-	THINGS	OF VALUE
--------------	-----------	--------	----------

During the period beginning 60 days prior to the date of your obligation to register to the time of filing this statement, did you receive from any foreign principal named in Item 6 any thing of value³ other than money, either as compensation, or for disbursement, or otherwise? Yes \(\sigma\) No \(\overline{\omega}\)

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of Foreign Principal Date Received Description of thing of value

Purpose for which received

9. (a) DISBURSEMENTS-MONIES

During the period beginning 60 days prior to the date of your obligation to register to the time of filing this statement, did you spend or disburse any money in furtherance of or in connection with your activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Item 6? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each such foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Date

To Whom

Purpose

Amount

(b) DISBURSEMENTS—THINGS OF VALUE

During the period beginning 60 days prior to the date of your obligation to register to the time of filing this statement, did you dispose of any thing of value³ other than money in furtherance of or in connection with your activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Item 6? Yes \square No \square

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date

Name of person to whom given

On behalf of what foreign principal

Description of thing of value

Purpose in giving

(c) DISBURSEMENTS-POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

During the period beginning 60 days prior to the date of your obligation to register to the time of filing this statement, did you make any contribution of money or other thing of value from your own funds and on your own behalf in connection with an election to any political office or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

			Identify location of
	Amount or		election, convention, etc.
Date	thing of value	Party or Candidate	if any
3/84	\$1,000.00	John Warner	Virginia
5/84	\$ 750.00	National Black Republicans	Washington, D.C.
9/83	250.00	Coreyell for County Supervisor	Fairfax, VA
10/83	500.00	Kozlowski for Mayor	New Britain, CT
7/83	1,000,00	Doug Schoen for Congress	New York City, NY
3 184 3 things of value include but are no	ed to gifts, interest free loans,	Dave Smick for Congress expense free travel, lavored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatme	Raltimore, MD r competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

V-POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

(Section 1(j) of the Act defines "political propaganda" as including any oral, visual, graphic, written, pictorial, or other communication or expression by any person (1) which is reasonably adapted to, or which the person disseminating the same believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, or in any other way influence a recipient or any section of the public within the United States with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party or with reference to the foreign policies of the United States or promote in the United States racial, religious, or social dissensions, or (2) which advocates, advises, instigates, or promotes any racial, social, political, or religious disorder, civil riot, or other conflict involving the use of force or violence in any other American republic or the overthrow of any government or political subdivision of any other American republic by any means involving the use of force or violence.)

of any government of political subdivision of any other	American republic by any means involving the use of force or violence.
10. Will the activities of the registrant on behalf of any propaganda as defined above? Yes ⊠	foreign principal include the preparation or dissemination of political No \square
IF YES, RESPOND TO THE REMAINING ITEMS	S IN THIS SECTION V.
11. Identify each such foreign principal.	
The Government of Saudi Arabia	
12. Has a budget been established or a specified sum of r political propaganda? Yes □ No ☒	money allocated to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating
If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify ar	nount and for what period of time.
13. Will any public relations firms or publicity agents part material? Yes □ No ☒	icipate in the preparation or dissemination of such political propaganda
If yes, furnish the names and addresses of such person	ns or firms.
14. Will your activities in preparing or disseminating police	tical propaganda include the use of any of the following:
☐ Radio or TV broadcasts	☐ Motion picture films
☐ Advertising campaigns	☐ Pamphlets or other publications
 ☐ Magazine or Newspaper articles ☐ Press releases 	☐ Letters or telegrams ☐ Lectures or speeches
☑ Other (specify) Personal discussions with	Members of Legislative and Executive Branches
15. Will the political propaganda be disseminated among	any of the following groups:
☐ Public Officials	☐ Civic groups or associations
☐ Legislators	☐ Libraries
☐ Government agencies	☐ Educational institutions
☐ Newspapers	☐ Nationality groups
☐ Editors	🖾 Other (specify) Congressional Staff
16. Indicate language to be used in political propaganda:	
☐ English	☐ Other (specify)

VI-EXHIBITS AND ATTACHMENTS

17. (a) The following described exhibits shall be filed in duplicate with an initial registration statement:

Exhibit A—This exhibit, which is filed on Form CRM-157, sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal named in Item 6.

Exhibit B—This exhibit, which is filed on Form CRM-155, sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

- (b) An Exhibit C shall be filed when applicable. This exhibit for which no printed form is provided consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, constitution, and bylaws of a registrant that is an organization. A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause shown upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530. See Rule 201(c) and (d).
- (c) An Exhibit D shall be filed when applicable. This exhibit for which no printed form is provided sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fund raising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal. See Rule 201(e).
- (d) A Short Form Registration Statement shall be filed for each person named in Items 4(h) and 5.

The undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) that he has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in attached Short Form Registration Statement, if any, insofar as such information is not within his (their) personal knowledge.

				Sype or print name under each signature) (aud / Cenafa / Paul J. Manafort, Jr.	
nuthorized to a of those parti ie United Stat	idminister oaths by the constant of the registrant is the registrant is		I, or by a ons who ——	Vivainia	
Subscribe	ed and sworn	to before me at	Alexandria,	Virginia	—
on	this	154.	day of	June , 19 84	
		w.*	•	/ / / = ===============================	-44
				a.S. Zarson.	
				(Signature of notary or other officer)	
			·	(Signature of notary or other officer)—1	
		Mu c	commission expi	(Signature of notary or other officer)	

EXHIBIT 945

U.S. Departmen Carsastic 17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525 p 21 er Field 02/23/249 Page 417 of 577 Washington, DC 20530 Pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended. JUN For Six Month Period Ending. (Insert date) Registration No. Name of Registrant Paul J. Manafort, Jr. 3594 **Business Address of Registrant** 324 North Fairfax Street Alexandria, VA 22314 I-REGISTRANT 1. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following: (a) If an individual: (1) Residence address Yes \square No □ (2) Citizenship Yes □ No 🗆 (3) Occupation Yes No □ (b) If an organization: (1) Name Yes No ₾ (2) Ownership or control Yes □ No 🛎 (3) Branch offices Yes No 🖾 2. Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in item 1. N/A IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, and 5. 3. Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting Yes 🖾 period? No □ If yes, furnish the following information: Name Position Date Connection Ended Parther Paul J. Manafort, Jr.

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.J.)

945

June 4, 1985 .

4	. Have any pe Yes □	ersons become p No ⊠	artners, officers, d	irectors or similar	officials during	g this 6 month	reporting period?
	If yes, furnish	the following inf	ormation:			·	
	Name		Residence Address	Citizenship		Position	Date Assumed
5.	Has any perso Yes □	on named in Item No □	4 rendered services	directly in furthera	nce of the intere	ests of any foreig	n principal?
	If yes, identify	each such person	and describe his s	ervices.			
		N/A					
6.				als, who have filed a		stration statemer Yes □	t, terminated their No ⊠
	If yes, furnish	the following info	rmation:				•
	Name		Posi	tion or connection			Date terminated
	rendered service		nt directly in furthe	ns been hired as em rance of the interest Yes D N			
	If yes, furnish	the following info	rmation:				
	Name		Residence Address	:	Position or connection	Dat	te connection began

	Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Diocimple 105/28/29/29/29/29/29/29/29	Page 419 of 5	577 (PAGE3)
8.	Has your connection with any foreign licpal ended during this 6 month reporting	riod? Ye	es □ No 🙀
	If yes, furnish the following information:		
	Name of foreign principal		Date of Termination
9.	Have you acquired any new foreign principal during this 6 month reporting period?	Yes □	No ₺
	If yes, furnish following information:		
	Name and address of foreign principal		Date acquired
10.	In addition to those named in Items 8 and 9, if any, list the foreign principals whom y 6 month reporting period.	ou continued to re	present during the
	The Government of Saudi Arabia		
	III—ACTIVITIES		,
	During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered named in Items 8, 9, and 10 of this statement? Yes ₩ No □	l any services to ar	y foreign principal
	If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and	l services:	
	The Government of Saudi Arabia -		
,	General advice on issues relating to energy policy, Arabia bilateral relations, proposed U.S Saudi ar	U.S Saud ms sale and	i

other issues of interest.

¹The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in section 1(b) of the Act, an individual or organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whote or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a)(9)).

A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those foreign principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

	Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ	Document 525-2	Filed 02/23/19	Page 420 of 577
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(PAGE 4)

					•				
12.	During this 6 n Yes ⊠	nonth reporting No □	gperiod, have you	on behalf of a	ny foreign pi	rincipal engag	ed in politi	cal activity ² a	s defined below
*			•		,				
	the relations, i	nterests and po sored or delive	ign principal and licies sought to be ered speeches, le ct matter.	e influenced a	and the mea	ns employed	to achieve	this purpose.	If the registran
								•	
			•	•					
	see a	ttachment				•			
					•				
			•		•				

	in addition to th your foreign pri		bed activities, if ar Yes □	iy, have you e No 🍱	ngaged in a	ctivity on your	own beha	ilf which ben	etits any or all of
•	our ioroigi, pri		x,00	110 LE		•			
1	f yes, describe	fully.							
•	,,	, •							
		•					•		
								•	
							-	,	•
					•				
				÷					
						-			

²The term "political activities" means the dissemination of political propaganda and any other activity which the person engaging therein believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, persuade, or in any other way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign polic

the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of the United States or with reference to the political party.

12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity as defined below?

Yes	x	No	
		~~~	

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

January 15, 1985 / 12:00 pm / Meeting Wayne Berman / Robert Lauterberg, Director, Gov't Relations, National Oil Council.

Activity: discussed petroleum products import issues.

January 31, 1985 / Meeting Wayne Berman (employee of Paul J. Manafort, Attorney at Law)/ Jeffrey Bergner (Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Activity: discussed Middle East security issues.

February 5, 1985 / by phone Wayne Berman / Jeffrey Bergner, Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Activity: discussed Saudi Arabia - U.S. issues.

February 11, 1985 / 12:00 / Meeting Paul J. Manafort / Tony Cortesmin.

Activity: discussed proposed Saudi Arabia arms package.

February 26, 1985 / by phone Wayne Berman / Graham Bannerman, Deputy Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Activity: discussed Saudi Arabia - U.S. Security issues.

March 11, 1985 / by phone Wayne Berman / Ron Neumann, Deputy Director, Saudi Arabia Section, Department of State.

Activity: discussed U.S. - Saudi Arabia relations, economic, trade and security issues, and other Middle East issues.

March 14, 1985 / Meeting Wayne Berman / Andy Walquist, A.A. to Senator Warner.

Activity: discussed congressional attitudes towards Saudi Arabia.

March 18, 1985 / by phone Wayne Berman / Jeff Bergner, Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Activity: discussed congressional perspectives on Saudi Arabia security requirements.

March 21, 1985 / 1:00 / Meeting Wayne Berman / Al Drischler, Neill and Co.

Activity: discussed security assistance and Middle East issues.

April 1, 1985 / 12:00 / Meeting Wayne Berman / Jack Shaw, private consultant.

Activity: U.S. - Saudi Arabia relations.

April 7, 1985 / 12:00 / Meeting Wayne Berman / Graham Bannerman, Deputy Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Activity: discussed general foreign policy issues in regard to the Middle East.

April 11, 1985 / Meeting Wayne Berman / Senator Lugar, Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Activity: discussed Saudi Arabia's role in Middle East peace process and regional security threats from Iran.

April 17, 1985 / by phone Wayne Berman / Jeffrey Bergner, Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Activity: Follow-up on 4/11 conversation with Senator Lugar.

April 18, 1985 / 1:00 pm / Meeting Wayne Berman (employee of Paul J. Manafort, Atty at Law) / Jeffrey Bergner, Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Activity: discussed Middle East security issues.

April 19, 1985 / 12:00 / Meeting Wayne Berman / Sam Ballenger, A.A. to Senator Laxalt.

Activity: discussed congressional perspectives on Saudi Arabia.

April 29, 1985 / by phone Wayne Berman / Russ Rourke, Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Activity: discussed U.S. - Saudi Arabia relations in a defense context.

#### IV-FINANCIAL INFORMATION

it. (a) accentioning	14.	(a)	RECEIPTS-MONIE
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During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.³

Date	From Whom	Purpose	Amount
1/17/85	The Gov't of Saudi Arabia	Consulting Fee	200,000.00
5/06/85	The Gov't of Saudi Arabia	Consulting Fee	50,000.00
m 5/06/85	The Gov't of Saudi Arabia	Expense Reimbursement	702.55

\$250,702.55

Total

#### (b) RECEIPTS-THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁴ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes \(\sigma\) No \(\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overline{\overli

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal

Date received Description of thing of value

Purpose

³A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he coffects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. See Rule 201(e).

4Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

	nonies in connection with act Yes ⊠ No □	ivity on behalf of any foreign	principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10
(2) transmitted monies to a	ny such foreign principal?	Yes □ No 🗵	
If yes, set forth below in the monies transmitted, if any, t	required detail and separate o each foreign principal.	ely for each foreign principal	an account of such monies, includi
Date	To Whom	Purpose	Amou
see	attachment		
•			
		4 -	
		3	
		,	
	. :		

Total

- 15. (a) DISBURSEMENTS MONIES

  During this 6 month reporting period, have you

  (l) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in items 8,9 and 10 of this statement? Yes __x__ No _____
- (2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal?

  Yes ___ No ____

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

DATE	TO WHOM	PURPOSE	AMOUNT
5/84 /84 12/84 1/85 2/85	All State Courier All State Courier All State Courier All State Courier All State Courier	Courier Service Courier Service Courier Service Courier Service Courier Service	17.50 27.25 9.81 9.81 20.87
4/85	C&P Telephone	Long Distance Service on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia.	53.61
9/84 1/85	DC Parking Lot DC Parking Lot	Parking Parking	6.50 5.50
4/85	DC Parking Lot	Parking	7.00
4/23/84	Sichuan Pavilion	Lunch on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia, regarding Saudi Arms Package	27.45
7/26/84	The Palm Restaurant	Lunch on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia, regarding Saudi Arms Package	62.92
1/15/85	The Palm Restaurant	Lunch with Jeff Bergner, Chief of Staff, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, regarding Middle East Security issues.	58.95
2/11/85	The Palm Restaurant	Lunch on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia, regarding Saudi Arms Package	57.25
3/21/85	Duke Zeiberts	Entertainment on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia, regarding security assistance, Middle East issue	13.84

DATE	TO WHOM	PURPOSE	AMOUNT
4/1/85	The Palm Restaurant	Lunch on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia, regarding U.S Saudi Arabia relations.	36.51
4/7/85	Hay Adams Restaurant	Breakfast on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia, regarding general foreign policy issues - Middle East.	25.33
4/18/85	Monocle Restaurant	Lunch with Sam Ballenger, A.A. to Senator Laxalt, on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia regarding Congressional perspectives on Saudi Arabia	50.20 a.
no date	Taxi	Transportation to meeting on behalf of Foreign Principal, Saudi Arabia.	2.50

TOTAL \$492.80

15.	(b)	DISBURSEMENTS-THINGS OF VALU	E

15. (U) DISBURSEMENTS-	THINGS OF VALUE			
	nth reporting period, have you activities on behalf of any for 凶			
If yes, furnish the foll	owing information:			
Date disposed	Name of person to whom given	On behalf of what foreign principal	Description of thing of value	Purpose
other person, made any	FICAL CONTRIBUTIONS eporting period, have you from contributions of money or oth primary election, convention	ier things of value ⁵ in con	inection with an elec	tion to any political office, or
If yes, furnish the follow	wing information:	•		•
Date	Amount or thing of value	Name of political organizatio		Name of candidate
Wayne L. Berman				
2/15/85	\$1,000.00	Parris for Gov	ernor	Stan Parris
	V—POLI	TICAL PROPAGANDA		
communication or expressi believes will, or which he in section of the public within government of a foreign cou in the United States racial, re political, or religious disorde	ct defines "political propagan on by any person (1) which in intends to, prevail upon, indoct in the United States with re- ntry or a foreign political party eligious, or social dissensions, er, civil riot, or other conflict in int or political subdivision of a	is reasonably adapted to trinate, convert, induce, of ference to the political or with reference to the or (2) which advocates, a volving the use of force o	o, or which the person in any other way or public interests, foreign policies of the dvises, instigates, or rviolence in any oth	on disseminating the same influence a recipient or any policies, or relations of a ne United States or promote promotes any racial, social, er American republic or the
16. During this 6 month rep defined above?	porting period, did you prepar Yes □ No ⊠	e, disseminate or cause	to be disseminated	any political propaganda as
IF YES, RESPOND TO THE	REMAINING ITEMS IN THIS SEC	TION V.		
17. Identify each such foreig	gn principal.			

⁵Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

- 18		During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating political propaganda? Yes \(\Boxed{\text{Ves}}\) No \(\Boxed{\text{No}}\)							
	If	yes, identify each such fore	ign principal, specify amo	unt, and	indicate for wha	t period of	time.		
19		ouring this 6 month reporting topaganda include the use		s in prepa	ring, disseminati	ng or caus	ing the diss	emination	of political
	~	Radio or TV broadcasts	☐ Magazine or newspa articles	per 🗆	Motion picture	films	□ Letters	or telegrai	ns
		Advertising campaigns	☐ Press releases		Pamphlets or ot publications	her	☐ Lecture spee		
-		Other (specify)							
20.		uring this 6 month reporting	period, did you dissemina	te or caus	e to be dissemin	ated politic	al propagar	ıda among	any of the
		Public Officials	☐ Newspape	rs		□ Libra			
		Legislators	☐ Editors		,		cational ins		
		Government agencies Other (specify)	☐ Civic grou		ociations	□ Natio	onality grou	ıps 	
	Di	hat language was used in th English d you file v ith the Registrations eseminated or caused to be	□ O on Section, U.S. Departme	ent of Jus		feach item	of political		a material
23.		d you label each item of suc s □ No □	h political propaganda m	aterial wi	th the statement	required t	y Section 4	(b) of the	Act?
24.		d you file with the Registration			tice, a Dissemin Yes □	ation Repo No □	rt for each i	tem of suc	h political
			VI—EXHIBITS	AND ATT	ACHMENTS		· .		
25.	EXF	HIBITS A AND B						•	
	(a)	Have you filed for each of	the newly acquired foreign	n principa	als in Item 9 the	following:			
		Exhibit $A^6$ Yes $\square$ Exhibit $B^7$ Yes $\square$	No □ No □	n/a					
		If no, please attach the req	uired exhibit.						
	(b)	Have there been any chang during this six month period		B previo No ☑	usly filed for any	foreign p	rincipal who	om you reç	presented
	-	If yes, have you filed an an	endment to these exhibi	ts?	Yes □	No □	n/a	÷	,
		If no, please attach the requ	uired amendment.						
							•		

⁶The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form CRM-157 (Formerly QBD-67) sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form CRM-155 (Formerly QBD-65) sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

26. EX	KHIBIT C			g- e :		
	You have previously filed an Exhibit C ⁸ , state whe eriod. Yes □ No □  n/a	ether any chang	es thereir	have occurred d	luring this 6 r	nonth reporting
*	•	G0 **	<b>,</b>	<b>N</b> =		
11	yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit	C? Yes	ı	No □		
If	no, please attach the required amendment.	n/a			,	•
27. SH	IORT FORM REGISTRATION STATEMENT					
	ave short form registration statements been filed by a es     No □	all of the person	ıs named i	n Items 5 and 7 of	the suppleme	ental statement?
If	no, list names of persons who have not filed the re	equired stateme	ent.			
~~~~~~						
	cy of the information contained in attached Short I his (their) personal knowledge.			nent, it any, niso ne under each sig		ioimation is not
(Both c	copies of this statement shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public or			1/10	M	
r by a ma	n authorized to administer oaths by the agent, if the registrant is an individual, ijority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar	Х	1 au	/ Man	1//1	
inctions wi	ho are in the United States, if the registrant is an organization.)	_Paul	J. Mar	afort, Jr. (
		,				
			_			
Sut	bscribed and sworn to before me at <u>Alexandr</u>	ia, virgini	a			,
				4		
nis	71. Jun 1	. 8.	5			
	Third day of July	, 19	J			
	Third day of July	, 19		-		
	day of July	, 19		-		
	day of July	, 19		/		
	day of July	, 19		(.S. Za	<u>11000 </u>	

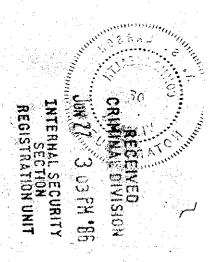
⁸The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, constitution, and bylaws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Internal Security Section, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.)

EXHIBIT 949

2. Registration No.	
3594	
ated purpose or purposes:	
☐ To give a 10-day notice of a chan by Section 2(b) of the Act.	ge in information as require
☐ Other purpose (specify)	
	3594 ated purpose or purposes: ☐ To give a 10-day notice of a change by Section 2(b) of the Act.

5. Each item checked above must be explained below in full detail together with, where appropriate, specific reference to and identity of the item in the registration statement to which it pertains. If more space is needed, full size insert sheets may be used.

Attached is an updated agreement to be attached to exhibit B, taking the place of the expired agreement.





The undersigned swear(s) of affilm(s) that he has supported (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such content knowledge and belief.		
(Both copies of this amendment shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public or other person authorized to administer oaths by the agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions who are in the United States, if the registrant is an organization.)	Paul J. Manafort, Jr.	
Subscribed and sworn to before me at Alexandria. Vi	rginia .	
this 26th day of <u>June</u> , 1986	(Notary or other officer)	
My commission expires march 13,1990		

AGREEMENT

By this Agreement entered into on the 7th day of January, 1986, between Attorney Paul J. Manafort and his Associates, (hereinafter Consultants), and the United States Embassy of The Royal Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, (hereinafter the Embassy), the Parties agree as follows:

- 1. Scope of Employment. Consultant will provide professional services to the Embassy that will be of general nature. Such professional services shall include, but not be limited to, the monitoring and lobbying of legislation in the Congress and the Executive Branch of the United States Government, participation in the development and implementation of a strategy to aid in the procurement of foreign military sales, and advancement of the other unspecified goals of the Embassy.
- 2. Term. This Agreement will continue in force for a term of one year. Six MoNTHS"
- 3. <u>Fees</u>. In return for the performance of the service outlined herein, the Embassy agrees to compensate Consultant the base amount of \$100,000 with said amount being payable upon the execution of this Agreement. Additionally, Consultant shall receive additional compensation on a quarterly basis for projects undertaken on behalf of the Embassy.

City.

In addition to such fees, the Embassy will reimburse Consultant on a monthly basis for all reasonable and necessary expenses including such expenses as travel, telephone, and postage and other incidental expenses in connection with the performance of the Embassy's work.

- 4. Miscellaneous Provisions.
 - A. <u>Notice</u>. All notices provided for herein shall be sent by certified mail, postage prepaid, and addressed as follows:

To Consultants: Paul J. Manafort, Esquire 324 North Fairfax Street Alexandria, Virginia 22314.

To Embassy of Royal Kingdom of Saudi Arabia:

DOJSCO-402206548

Termination. Notwithstanding the above, this Agreement may be terminated with 30 days written notice.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Parties hereto, by their respective and duly authorized officers, have hereunto set their names.

PAUL J. MANAFORT, ESQ.

EMBASSY OF THE ROYAL KINGDOM OF

SAUDI ARABIA

EXHIBIT 1028

REDACTED

EXHIBIT 1237

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 439 of 577

From: Rick Gates

Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012, 10:28 AM

To:
Cc:
Subject: Contract
Attachments: contract FINAL 11-2012.docx; NoName.att

Please find attached the final version of the contract with your requested changes. Please let me know if there are any other issues.

Regards, Rick



DATED 01 JULY 2012

and

CONSULTANCY AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT is made the 1st day of July 2012

BETWEEN:



RECITALS

- (1) The COMPANY wishes, in view of the CONSULTANT's relevant skills, knowledge and experience to engage the CONSULTANT to provide certain consultancy services to the COMPANY
- (2) The CONSULTANT is willing to provide such services to COMPANY on and subject to the terms and conditions of this Contract.

1. DEFINITIONS AND INTERPRETATION

1.1 The following terms shall have the following meanings for the purpose of this Agreement:

"Affiliate"

of a specified person means any other person that directly or indirectly through one or more intermediaries controls or is controlled by, or is under direct or indirect common control with, the specified person (and 'control' means the ability or (as the case may be) the possession (directly or indirectly) of the power to direct or cause the direction of the affairs, management or policies of such person, directly or indirectly, whether by contract or ownership of voting securities or otherwise and 'controlled' shall be construed accordingly);

"Board" means the Board of Directors of the COMPANY:

"clause" means clauses in this Agreement unless the

context has a contrary meaning;

"Commencement Date"

means 1st July 2012;

"COMPANY" where the context so admits includes the

COMPANY's Affiliates;

"Term" means from the 1st July 2012 for a period of 6

months unless and until this agreement shall be

terminated by either party in accordance with

Clause 7, or by either party giving the other

notice of termination of no less than three

calendar months.

1.2 Headings contained in this Agreement are for reference purposes only and should not be incorporated into this Agreement and shall not be deemed to be any indication of the meaning of the clauses to which they relate.

- 1.3 References to parties, clauses, schedules, sub-clauses and exhibits are to the parties to, clauses of, sub-clauses of, schedules to and Exhibits to this Agreement, respectively.
- 1.4 Except where the context requires otherwise words importing the singular include the plural and words importing any gender include every gender, and (in each case) vice versa.
- 1.5 In this Agreement:
 - 1.5.1 references to a 'person' shall be construed so as to include any individual, firm, company, government, state or agency of a state or any joint venture, partnership or other body corporate, unincorporated association and partnership (whether or not having a separate legal personality);

- 1.5.2 references to any English legal term for any action, remedy, method of judicial proceeding, legal document, legal status, court, official, or any legal concept or thing shall in respect of any jurisdiction other than England be deemed to include what most nearly approximates in that jurisdiction to the English legal term;
- 1.5.3 general words shall not be given a restrictive meaning by reason only of the fact that they are followed by particular examples intended to be embraced by the general words or introduced by the word 'other' and preceded by words indicating a particular class of acts, matters or things and accordingly the rule known as the ejusdem generis rule shall not apply to this Agreement; and
- 1.5.4 references to a statute or statutory provision shall include a reference to the statute or statutory provision as modified or re-enacted or both from time to time, and any subordinate legislation made thereafter.
- 1.6 References in this Agreement to anything which any party is required to do or not to do shall include his acts, defaults and omissions, whether direct or indirect, on his own account or for or through any other person and those which he permits or suffers to be done or not done by any other person.

2. APPOINTMENT

2.1 The COMPANY engages the CONSULTANT as CONSULTANT of the COMPANY's business for the Term.

3. OBJECT OF THE AGREEMENT

3.1 During the Term the CONSULTANT shall devote such of his time attention and abilities to the COMPANY business as is necessary for the proper exercise of his duties as CONSULTANT but nothing contained in this Agreement shall (subject to Clause 6) preclude the CONSULTANT from acting in a similar or any other capacity for any other person firm or COMPANY.

- 3.2 The CONSULTANT shall advise and assist the COMPANY as required in all branches of its business including in particular but without prejudice to the generality of the above provide general strategic and consulting advice to the COMPANY on a range of areas. The CONSULTANT in particular shall provide political and economic analysis and provide advice on specific economic policies for countries outside the European Union, and will provide the writing of occasional reports and memos to the COMPANY and will ensure the availability of the CONSULTANT to make a series of trips for work in Eastern Europe and Asia in countries that are outside the European Union.
- 3.3 Should the COMPANY at any time in future require services to be rendered by the CONSULTANT in European Union countries, then a new agreement shall be decided upon and such services shall be regulated under a different agreement.

4. THE COMPANY'S OBLIGATIONS

- 4.1 In consideration of the services to be rendered by the CONSULTANT under this Agreement the COMPANY shall pay to the CONSULTANT:
 - 4.1.1 A fee of EUR € 930,000.00 (nine hundred thirty thousand euros).

5. SECRECY

- 5.1 The CONSULTANT shall not at any time during or after the Term divulge or allow to be divulged to any person any confidential information relating to the business or affairs of the COMPANY other than to persons who have signed a secrecy undertaking in the form approved by the COMPANY.
- 5.2 The CONSULTANT shall not permit any person to assist in the provision of the services under this Agreement unless that person has signed such an undertaking.

6. TERMINATION

The following obligations are conditions of this Agreement and any breach of them shall be deemed a fundamental breach which shall determine this Agreement immediately and the rights and liabilities of the parties shall thereafter be determined.

- 6.1 Failure on the part of the COMPANY to make punctual payment of all sums due to the CONSULTANT under the terms of this Agreement
- 6.2 Failure on the part of the CONSULTANT to observe any material obligation under this Agreement.
- 6.3 The levying of any distress or execution against the COMPANY or the COMPANY's liquidation (other than a members' voluntary liquidation).

7. DELIVERY UP OF DOCUMENTS ON TERMINATION

The CONSULTANT or his personal representatives shall upon the termination of his engagement immediately deliver up to the COMPANY all correspondence documents specification papers and property belonging to the COMPANY which are in his possession or under his control.

8. AMALGAMATION OR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPANY

If before the end of the Term the engagement of the CONSULTANT is terminated by reason of the winding-up of the COMPANY for the purpose of amalgamation or reconstruction or as part of any arrangement for amalgamation not involving winding-up and the CONSULTANT shall be offered an engagement with the amalgamated or reconstructed COMPANY for a period of not less than the unexpired part of the Term and on terms not less favourable than the terms of this Agreement the CONSULTANT shall have no claim against the COMPANY in respect of such termination.

requirement by a governmental authority for taxes and contributions in respect of payments made to the CONSULTANT.

9. SUPERSEDES PRIOR AGREEMENTS

This Agreement supersedes any prior agreement between the parties whether written or oral and any such prior agreements are cancelled as at the Commencement Date but without prejudice to any rights which have already accrued to either of the parties.

10. MISCELLANEOUS

10.1 Notices

All notices to be given under this Agreement shall be in writing and shall either be delivered personally or sent by first-class or airmail prepaid post or by telex, cable or

facsimile transmission and shall be deemed duly served:

- 10.1.1 in the case of a notice delivered personally, at the time of delivery;
- 10.1.2 in the case of a notice sent inland by first-class prepaid post, 2 clear business days after the date of dispatch;
- 10.1.3 in the case of a notice sent overseas by airmail, 7 business days (being business days in the place to which the notice is dispatched) after the date of dispatch; and
- 10.1.4 in the case of a telex, cable or facsimile transmission, if sent during normal business hours then at the time of transmission and if sent outside normal business hours then on the next following business day provided (in each case) that a confirmatory copy is sent by first-class prepaid post or by hand by the end of the next business day.

Each notice shall be addressed to the address of the party concerned set out in this Agreement or to such other address as that party shall have previously notified to the sender:



10.2 The COMPANY's right to assign

This Agreement and all rights under it may be assigned or transferred by the COMPANY.

10.3 Proper law and jurisdiction

10.3.1 This Agreement shall be governed by BVI law in every particular including formation and interpretation and shall be deemed to have been made in the BVI

10.3.2 Any proceedings arising out of or in connection with this Agreement may be brought in any Court of competent jurisdiction in the BVI.

10.3.3 The submission by the parties to such jurisdiction shall not limit the right of the CONSULTANT to commence any proceedings arising out of this Agreement in any other jurisdiction he may consider appropriate.

Any notice of proceedings or other notices in connection with or which would give effect to any such proceedings may without prejudice to any other method of service be served on any party in accordance with Clause 12.1.

10.4 Rights cumulative

All rights granted to either of the parties shall be cumulative and no exercise by either of the parties of any right under this Agreement shall restrict or prejudice the exercise of any other right granted by this Agreement or otherwise available to it.

10.5 Survival of terms

No term shall survive expiry or termination of this Agreement unless expressly provided.

10.6 Waiver

The failure by either party to enforce at any time or for any period any one or more of the terms or conditions of this Agreement shall not be a waiver of them or of the right at any time subsequently to enforce all terms and conditions of this Agreement.

10.7 **Costs**

Each of the parties shall pay any costs and expenses incurred by it in connection with this Agreement.

10.8 Third party rights

A person who is not a party to this Agreement has no rights [under the Contracts (Rights of Third Parties) Act 1999] to enforce any terms of this Agreement.

11. ARBITRATION

All disputes or differences which at any time arise between the parties whether during the Term or afterwards touching or concerning this Agreement or its

9

construction or effect or the rights duties or liabilities of the parties under or by virtue of it or otherwise or any other matter in any way connected with or arising out of the subject matter of this Agreement shall be referred to a single arbitrator to be agreed upon by the parties or in default of agreement to be nominated by the [President for the time being of the Chartered Institution of Arbitrators] in accordance with the Arbitration Act 1996 or any statutory modification or re-enactment of it for the time being in force.

AS WITNESS the hands of the parties the day and year first above written

SIGNED by)
for and on behalf of	
	j
CIONED by	
SIGNED by)
for and on behalf of)
)

EXHIBIT 1307

MEMORANDUM

To: PJM

Subject: SA Report – Media Plan

Date: August 1, 2012

The public release of the report prepared by the Skadden Arps (SA) law firm will provide a major opportunity for the Government to re-set the agenda and demand a fresh appraisal of its position regarding the trial and conviction of Yulia Tymoshenko. This document will address the global rollout strategy for the SA legal report, and provide a detailed plan of actions.

This event will provide an opportunity for Ukraine to challenge the international (European/US) perception that it is mounting selective political prosecutions that do not comply with international standards. It is clear that much of the truth concerning the crimes committed by YT has been overlooked, and misunderstood. The SA report conveys a direct and coherent account of the facts that will show the international community that the judicial system in Ukraine worked in this case but that some elements can be improved.

However, this moment presents equally significant challenges, in addressing the report's likely criticism of some procedural missteps and countering the onslaught of an extremely effective campaign being waged by the Government's opponents. It is inconceivable that the report will bring an end to heated debate; on the contrary, it is most likely to provoke an intense effort by all interested parties to claim that the report vindicates their position and a further phase of scrutiny by the international media and diplomatic community.

The media plan for the SA report release is built with the following observations in mind:

- It is clear that most media reporting and misreporting, and misperceptions amongst the diplomatic and political communities, emanate from international wire service reports with Kiev-based correspondents.
- 2. Inaccurate or incomplete reporting by the newswires is repeated without challenge or fact-checking by international media outlets. In fact, the international media will have difficulty accepting the conclusions of the Skadden report because their reporting, to date, has been significantly slanted towards the Tymoshenko positions. To now embrace the Skadden report would be to repudiate their previous reporting. This is highly unlikely to happen.
- 3. There is no plan in place that ensures such inaccuracies are corrected.
- 4. Media relations techniques in Ukraine follow the convention of news conferences rather than individual briefings. Showpiece news conferences take place after each legal event, and are often hijacked by some elected politicians interjecting into statements by prosecutors.
- 5. The information about the case online has not been sufficiently available in English, and the media has to work too hard to find a position counter to the clearly communicated plan of YT.
- 6. Certain elements of the media and YT's team will attempt to take the negative aspects of the trial procedures in which Western due process was not followed, and attempt to weave a headline from



those negative points, while attempting to ignore the main tenent that she was tried and convicted fairly under Western standards.

Media Strategy and Plan

Based on current information, SA is expected to deliver its report the week of August 9th to the MoJ. The communications strategy, outlined below, is subject to modification depending on the content of the final SA report. However, we are proceeding with the following points in mind:

- The report was commissioned by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) not the Office of Prosecutor General's Office (OPG).
- The report will conclude that the trial was valid and that crimes were committed by YT, but that some irregularities existed in the process that are not in line with Western jurisprudence.
- It will present a more detailed analysis of the facts and evidence in the process than has previously been seen by the international community.
- The report will be in English and that version will represent the official record.
- The report will contain some criticism of the OPG and the Judge, based on the process and procedures of the trial, and these criticisms, will be exploited by our opponents.
- SA cannot proactively lead in communications, given their restrictions by FARA registration and disclosure.

In order to neutralize the inevitable attacks that will commence as soon as the report is released, and optimize our control of the story, we need to be pro-active in reaching out to carefully chosen key stakeholders. The approach would be as follows:

Report Release

- 1. The final report (in English) will be delivered by SA to the MoJ the week of August 9th, and will carry the firm's authoritative imprimatur; but the responsibility for publication and distribution rests with the MoJ.
- The full text of circa 180 pages, which includes an executive summary, will be published in Ukrainian (subject to translation by the MOJ) and English languages. The report will be further translated in Russian (at the direction of the MOJ). Only the English translation will be the responsibility of SA. SA will work with the MOJ to ensure the integrity of the translated versions of the report.
- 3. The report will be released by the MoJ with a press statement by email distribution. The statement will be drafted by and approved by the MoJ. The statement will accompany the report and distributed to key stakeholders, and placed on the Ministry's website. In addition, the statement will be translated into multiple languages.
- 4. Talking points and Q&A material will also be drafted by for all key groups that will need messaging. It is imperative that complete discipline is assured in this process. There can be no mistakes with the release process, messaging, and the messengers so that the utmost credibility will be viewed with the process.
- 5. In order to generate good will toward certain key stakeholders, a small number of individuals will be notified just prior to the release of the report by MoJ. This will include key members of the EU), the EC, the USG, and foreign diplomats in Kyiv.
- 6. In addition, a small number of international journalists should be briefed in advance of the publication of the report, under strict embargo, and formally contacted by the MoJ press team (with support from the AC team on behalf of the MoJ.

will manage simultaneous distribution of the Report on the release date and send to key political stakeholders in Brussels, Berlin, London, Paris, Rome, and others. A list of the key stakeholders is attached (Attachment 1). This will include outreach to think tanks and interested NGOs. The Ukrainian embassy in Brussels will be asked to distribute information more widely to MEPs on the release date and the ECFMU will do similar disseminations. will focus on the specialist legal writers, analysts and commentators.

Post Report Release

- 8. will need to do briefings and interviews (group and one-on-ones) with key stakeholders in the Attachment, and as specified below. will not initiate these briefings but it will be done through and the AC team in the key targeted cities.
- 9. A private briefing with should be offered to immediately following the release of the report. Depending on scheduling, this meeting should happen as soon as possible.
- 10. A private briefing should also be offered to the Ukrainian Commissioner for Human Rights, a fluent English and German speaker.
- 11. Special attention should be given to the German and Russian media in this distribution, as well as those journalists previously briefed by the First Deputy PG on his media tours in major European cities. Consideration should be given to visiting Moscow for one round table briefing with a group of leading correspondents covering Ukrainian matters from there. Similarly, he should do a roundtable in Berlin for interviews with a selection of the most influential commentators.
- 12. The Prosecutor General will release a press statement immediately following publication of the SA report, welcoming the report and the analysis given its role and involvement as prosecutors in the trial process. will draft the press statement and seek approval from the OPG.
- 13. Both the MoJ and PG's offices will receive many media enquiries and requests for comment.

 Responses by both teams of press officers must be carefully logged, tightly controlled and closely supervised. will draft the messaging points for the MoJ and the OPG, and prep the press staffs of both departments for handling the media enquiries.
- 14. Skadden will also receive a large number of media calls about the report and will be obliged to respond on the record. With the agreement of Skadden, the team will manage the inbound flow of those calls.
- 15. No Government entity should stage a news conference for the international media because it reduces our control and also because it is unlikely that international media outlets will send enough journalists to attend such a conference in Ukraine. Instead, we could field the PG / First Deputy PG and potentially other media trained senior Government Ministers for a small number of one-to-one interviews following the publication of the report.
- 16. A domestic news conference is a possibility but the Kyiv-based foreign correspondents could not be excluded and control would still be a challenge. It would be preferred to do a small number of limited domestic interviews, carefully planned and managed.
- 17. The President's Administration should instruct the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to distribute a briefing pack to all foreign ambassadors based in Kyiv and all Ukrainian ambassadors in EU Member States, plus US and Russia. The pack should include the full Report, the talking points and the statements of both the MoJ and PG, with a covering note from the Minister of Justice and clear instruction to distribute the Report and statements to their respective stakeholder constituencies. It is essential that there should be no slippage in the timetable, (i.e. this onward distribution must occur once the MoJ releases the its statement and report).

Reactions and Responses

- 18. The likely follow-on story will be that the opposition will try to use the report to mount a campaign calling for a re-trial. There will be substantial international pressure placed on the Government to act on the report. We have to be firm in the position that this report concludes that a crime was committed and that the weight of evidence would have secured a conviction under a Westernstyle system, irrespective of any minor procedural issues.
- 19. All ambassadors and departments of Government must use the same message and stand firm that any politician in any country who behaved in this way would have been punished.
- 20. will draft message points for the Government on these subjects and take into account likely criticism levied by YT's legal team, the Opposition, and other members of the international community.

Command Center

A Command Center must be established to ensure the absolute strictest discipline throughout this process. The Command Center will disseminate talking points and act as the point-of-contact for any information that is distributed by the Government. This includes the package of material that will go to foreign embassies via the MFA, cover letters, interview requests, and all written and verbal responses.

The Center needs to have a dedicated set of resources including:

- separate translators for multiple languages (Russian, Ukrainian, English, German and French)
- writers to assist
 and others in drafting the messaging
- dedicated office with no access for outside parties it must be a secure center
- a lead person for the office needs to be selected to coordinate the activity of the Command Center and to address the actions by the MoJ, OPG and SA.

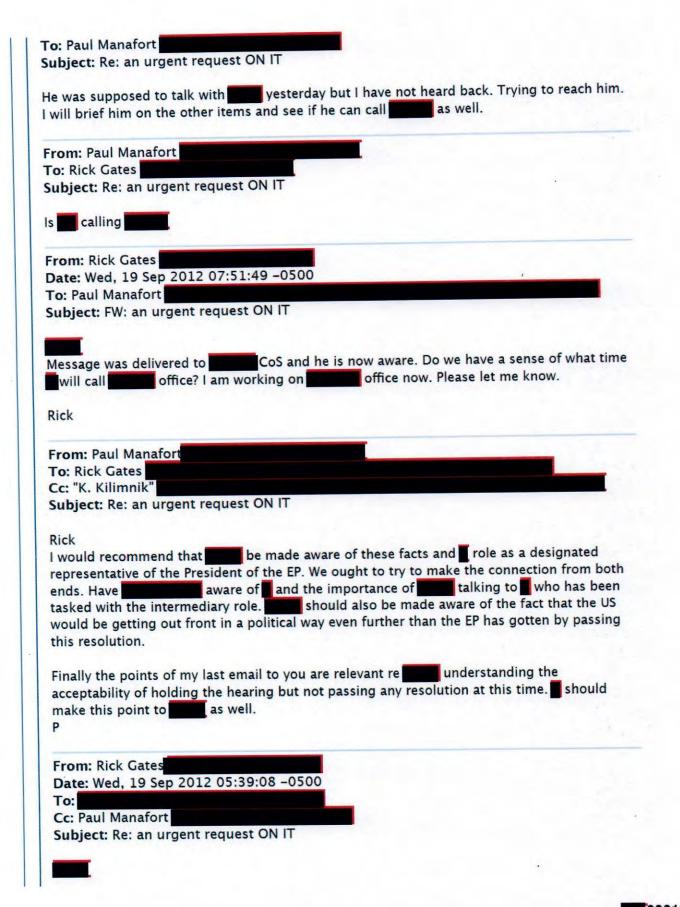
We are about a week to ten days away from the release of the final report. The plan and related actions need to be implemented as soon as possible so that we are fully prepared to deal with the release of the SA report. As soon as it is released, it will go viral and we need to make sure we are fully prepared to deal with the impact from the international community. Once the report is released, a public perception war will ensue, and her legal team and supporters, will do everything possible to undermine the credibility of the SA report.

I need your approval of this plan to begin moving forward.

EXHIBIT 1308

Subject: Re: an urgent request ON IT From: Date: 9/19/12, 9:29 AM To: Rick Gates CC: Paul Manafort ALSO happy to speak to Senator and ask hm to delay or tone down or stop the resolution Sent from my iPad On Sep 19, 2012, at 15:25, Rick Gates On it. Thank you. From: To: Paul Manafort Cc: Rick Gates Subject: Re: an urgent request ON IT who is getting ready for the Am with now, who is speaking to wedding of his only daughter...BUT....he will talk to yes. He is delighted to speak to and try to calm things down and ask them to wait and tust him.. Need rick to call me in three minutes so we can set this up, make it happen.... says yes here is his personal and private mobile and call him The Senator can dial him directly or can put him on He will keep he phone open until midnight CET or six pm DC time He is very keen to delay and calm things down READY.... Sent from my iPad On Sep 19, 2012, at 15:12, Paul Manafort. Keep me posted on call to status GOVERNMENT **EXHIBIT** From: Rick Gates Date: Wed, 19 Sep 2012 08:07:57 -0500 1308

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If your guy is go mportant since is ne posted.			ou have him call number is	too. This just as
From: To:		D:	l. Catao	
Cc: Paul Manafort		RIC	k Gates	
<eckart.sager@gmail.c< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></eckart.sager@gmail.c<>				
Subject: Re: an urgent	equest ON II			
Ok i am on it. Will see Chancellor and	place the call to	in 90 m	inutes	
Rick is gettng me a dire	ct line to	office.		
Sent from my iPad				
			_	
From: Date: September 1	9 2012 11:44:3	31 GMT+02:	00	
To:				
Cc: Konstantin Kilin Subject: an urgent			•	
	•			
Dear				
We have an idea wit committe. Would it b early morning call to files):	e possible to rea	ch out to		Senate's foreign relations and ask him to make are details in the attached
policy of engagement m of very substantial a	nt with Ukraine or ission to Ukraine and unprecedente	n the Tymosh proved to be ed achieveme	enko case. In partion helpful and efficier nts. The policy of e	Union is now pursuing the cular, the recent not leading to quite a number neadened with Ukraine
far more efficient that				
by the European Co	ourt for Human Ri	ights (ECHR)	Therefore, proper	n is now under considerater assessment of the ally authoritative judgme
- the discussion abo	out situation in Uk	raine can tak	e place today but it	t is obvious that resolution fer the October election

not prior to them.

Paul works through his channels and is sending the same messages. He also supports the above initiative. The issue is under Big Guy's personal control.

As you understand, the matter is very urgent and we understand the time pressure but it would be fantastic if such a call could take place.

Best regards,



<senate.doc>

<res part 1.pdf>

<res part 2.pdf>

EXHIBIT 1349

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Press,

I am addressing you today in my capacities as President of the European Center for a Modern Ukraine, as and as

My fellow Members of Parliament and I are deeply concerned over the one-sided news coverage about Ukraine, through which the impression is increasingly developing that Ukraine has turned away from the EU. However, the opposite is the case: the Ukrainian Parliament and the Government have clearly dedicated themselves to Europe, to its values, to democracy and the rule of law.

Concrete measures implemented by the incumbent government over the past few years make this clear:

1. Reforms and Modernisation

Ukraine still has to grapple with the consequences of the Soviet era. These appear, for example, throughout the judicial system or through corruption, which is unfortunately still prevalent in Ukraine. Whereas the previous government was far too inactive, the current Parliament and the reigning government have made important steps here:

- Last month in April 2012, the Ukrainian Parliament passed several different laws to reform the code of criminal procedure. These laws will make criminal proceedings more transparent and decisively strengthen the rights of the accused and their defense. The draft laws were prepared in close coordination with the European institutions and were expressly approved by the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe.
- We are combating corruption. Bribery and exerting political influence have been incorporated into the penal laws, a move which was well received by the Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO) of the Council of Europe. As a result, proceedings have been opened against 800 politicians and functionaries, 300 from my own party, the Party of Regions, among them. No one is above the law- not even former Minister Presidents.

2. The Case of Tymoschenko

- The European Committee for the Prevention of Torture is expressly invited to inspect the conditions of the detention of Ms. Yulia Tymoschenko and other oppositional politicians on location again. The accusations from Ms. Tymoschenko with respect to the alleged use of force during her transfer to the Central Clinical Hospital No. 5 "Ukrsalisnyzja" in Kharkiv are already being independently investigated by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine.
- We honor every decision of the European Court of Justice for human rights. However, we
 are convinced that the investigations of the European institutions will confirm the
 legality of the criminal proceeding and the conditions of detention.

3. Free Elections

- Free and fair elections are an essential element of every democracy. We are therefore doing everything in order to ensure transparency and justice in the run-up to and during the parliamentary elections of 2012. The opposition has access to the media and can

[PAGE * MERGEFORMAT]



freely carry out their own electoral campaigns. The international observers of the OSCE are cordially invited to stringently monitor the elections. Potential irregularities will be immediately confronted.

4. EURO 2012

- The Ukrainian government, the Ukrainian Parliament and the Ukrainian people have done everything in recent months and years so that EURO 2012 will be a complete success for us and our European friends. Please allow us in this way to demonstrate that Ukraine is a part of Europe.

Ukraine has come a great deal closer to the EU under the government, as the initialing of the Association Agreements demonstrates. Nevertheless, we will still require the support of Europe. We have to further modernize our society and implement sensitive reforms without Ukrainian society coming apart in the process. For this to occur, we need economic success. In this respect, we hope that the EU will keep its words and support us on our way forward, particularly in light of the negotiations with Russia over fair gas prices and the modernization of our gas transport system.

The current Ukrainian government and the Ukrainian Parliament demonstrate through their doings how very much we are dedicated to Europe and its values; we hope that Europe allows its deeds to speak to us as well.

I would be very pleased if, as a journalist, you could bear these aspects in mind more strongly in the future.

I remain at your disposal at any time for further information.

Sincerely from Kiev,

[PAGE * MERGEFORMAT]

EXHIBIT 1351

Message

From: 5/18/2012 7:20:35 PM

Subject: Ukraine - what we've been up to

Attachments: Building confidence in the prosecution of Y.pdf

To:

Attached is a short presentation that we prepared yesterday for the Prosecutor General. It gives a flavour of the work we're doing. As you will understand, it takes longer to get anything done here because of the language barrier — we're using translators for every meeting — the cultural gulf, Government staff mentality and absence of know-how. We have established trust with the Prosecutor General and his team. He told us yesterday that he was delighted with our work and had told the President. He said we could have whatever we need to do the job, so we now have Government drivers running us around, security clearance and are being treated like colleagues. They feed us well, too!

We've been provided with a huge amount of briefing, both in document form and in a series of meetings with prosecutors, experts and others, and have been working round the clock to digest and convert this into press backgrounders, web content, Q&As etc. We've set up an operations room, with computers, phone lines and other office equipment. We've been media training the team of prosecutors. And we've been meeting every evening with the lawyers, to tap into their knowledge, although they have been a little coy about sharing too openly with us, to maintain the integrity of the review that they have been commissioned to undertake. They have been interviewing a vast number of witnesses and tipping us off about the nuggets they've found and the key people for us to meet.

We got a good deal on our hotel, because it's new and have blocked out rooms for the next couple of months. Frankly, I am sure that we'll be here at least till the end of the year.

The base fee that we have agreed with Rick Gates at Davis Manafort is £90,000 per month. As soon as I get the first wire transfer, I am going to tell him that the client gave his approval yesterday for us to proceed urgently with a Research project, a website and digital/social media strategy. Each of these will require additional budget and this should take our monthly revenue up to around £150,000. I'll update you on that as we make progress.

Thanks for all your understanding and support.





GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.J.)

1351





BUILDING INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE IN THE PROSECUTION OF YULIA TYMOSHENKO

KYIV MAY 2012





Our Specialist Practices

Corporate Finance/ Restructuring

- Restructuring/ Turnaround Services
- Bankruptcy
 Support Services
- Transaction
 Advisory Services
- Private Equity
- Performance Improvement
- Interim Management
- Investment Banking

Economic Consulting

- Antitrust & Competition Economics
- BusinessValuation
- Intellectual Property
- International Arbitration
- Labor & Employment
- Public Policy
- Regulated Industries
- Securities
 Litigation & Risk
 Management

Forensic and Litigation Consulting

- Forensic
 Accounting &
 Advisory Services
- Global Risk & Investigations Practice
- Dispute Advisory Services
- Intellectual Property
- Trial Services
- Financial & Enterprise Data Analytics
- Compliance, Monitoring & Receivership

Strategic Communications

- FinancialCommunications
- Corporate
 Communications
- Public Affairs
- Creative
 Engagement
- Strategy
 Consulting &
 Research

Technology

- ComputerForensics &Investigations
- Discovery
 Consulting
- E-discovery Software & Services



-3-

The Challenge: Overcoming Ignorance

- Foreign observers see prosecution of Tymoshenko as "political persecution".
- The charges are not understood: little is said about the evidence.
- Tymoshenko is seen as a female celebrity, the champion of European integration and victim of a corrupt, self-interested political-industrial group.
- Her background as rich oligarch and history of corruption completely overlooked.
- Ukraine is seen as a country struggling to escape its Soviet past, with foreign observers assuming the law is unfair, and subject to political influence.
- Tymoshenko is a skilled communicator, with a highly effective and professional team of campaigners who are fighting her cause through the media, NGOs and political communities.
- Statements by the Prosecutor General's office are dismissed as evidence of political influence.
- With global focus on Ukraine for Euro 2012 and the start of a second trial, we must be proactive in communicating the facts quickly.

Communication Objectives

- Explain the real story; show the evidence.
- Expose the real Tymoshenko.
- Challenge ignorance, prejudice and bias within international reporting.
- Seek to achieve accurate, fair and balanced coverage.
- Neutralise the impact of the Tymoshenko campaign tactics.
- Win acceptance for Ukraine's diligent and professional prosecution process.
- Minimize disruption of the Euro 2012 tournament.
- Defend Ukraine's international reputation.



Recommended strategy

- 1. Create a compelling story and message
- 2. Establish a single, rapid source for authoritative information
- 3. Plan now to persuade tomorrow
- 4. Engage the international media dynamically
- 5. Reinforce the diplomatic effort
- 6. Build a web channel for international media
- 7. Mobilise a digital / social media strategy
- 8. Monitor changing sentiment and evaluate progress



Create a compelling story and message

- Take control of the narrative about Tymoshenko.
- Re-frame her as a corrupt oligarch, rather than paraded as a beacon for democracy.
- Focus on the facts: evidence convinces.
- Simplify this complex case, help the media to follow it.
- Convey the facts without emotion.
- Prepare to answer any question put to us.



Setting the key messages

- Messages will be developed by "brainstorming" together.
- Key themes include:
 - No angel: behind the hair, lurks the real Tymoshenko.
 - 2. Anti-corruption clampdown in Ukraine: others accused.
 - Crime is crime: no citizen is above the law.
 - 4. Fraud: the largest committed in Ukraine.
 - European analogy: other countries are pursuing corrupt politicians.
 - 6. Evidence: reviewed by leading international experts.
 - 7. A just response: fair treatment both at trial and in prison.



Establish a single, rapid source for authoritative information

- Open an international press office and 'phone line.
- Log and track all international media enquiries.
- Create a timeline of all activity to enable effective planning for media "spikes".
- Launch a dedicated media information website.
- Mobilise a digital / social media strategy.



Plan now to persuade tomorrow

- Enhance the effectiveness of key spokespersons with media training – and an alternative.
- Enhance the effectiveness of the press service with training
 to be more confident and influential.
- Advise on effective management of the media at trial.
- Develop a comprehensive map of the stakeholder landscape.
- Identify the safest media targets for proactive engagement.
- Develop a timeline for future challenges and risk posed by the Tymoshenko campaign, and plan our response.



Engage the international media dynamically

- Pre-brief journalists and consider their response to our position.
- If appropriate, or his alternative should be offered for interviews.
- Monitor the output and correct any errors.
- Follow up and maintain a dialogue with the journalist.
- Use effective online strategy to link constructive articles.
- Zero tolerance of inaccuracy or bias rapid and firm rebuttal.



Reinforce the diplomatic effort

- We are part of your team, not the President's office or Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Essential to show the prosecution as independent from political and diplomatic affairs.
- Coordinate with all key parties, target the right people and ensure that communications is working effectively.
- Support Ukraine's ambassadors in their communications.
- Target key foreign ambassadors in Kyiv, with clear and effective briefing documents.
- Support your dialogue with international delegations, to overcome ignorance and educate on the facts.



Build a web channel for international media

- Create a media information portal
- Referred to and linked to from the current Prosecutor General of Ukraine's website (www.gp.gov.ua).
- Key source for the international media.
 - Statements and responses
 - Background briefing papers
 - Photos and video to download
 - Register for email alerts
 - Social media links to YouTube, Facebook, Twitter etc
 - Calendar of key upcoming events
 - List of key contacts
 - Searchable
 - English language priority consider others



Back to main website

Pyc / Yxp / Eng

PROSECUTOR GENERAL OF UKRAINE

Press Office

Headline to main story lorem ipsum dolor sit

Home

Public announcements

Backgrounders

Media library

Social media centre

Calendar of events

Contacts



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May 7, 2012

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May 7, 2012

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MORE



Search the media centre

Media toolkit Quicklinks to key media.

Timeline

[ada Images

B-roll

(1) Alerts

Latest from the media centre

MORE:



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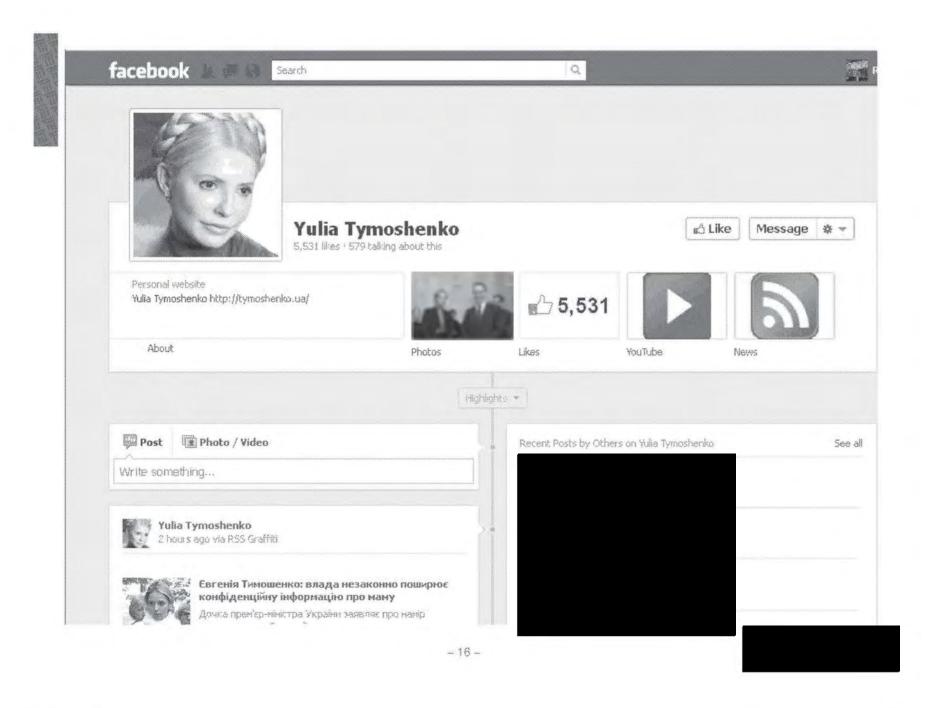
Calendar Key dates

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26	*	2	3		5	6	
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Ä
21	22	23	24	25	28	27	
28	29	30	31	4	2	ū	

Mobilise a digital / social media strategy

- Online, Tymoshenko in winning the argument we must change this
- Smart strategy is essential understanding convergence of traditional media, search engine optimisation (SEO) and social media.
- Create positive content, amplifying key messages for the most influential online sites venues.
- Suppress negative content via the search engines.





World

Tymoshenko Refuses Medical Treatment over 'Media Leaks'

Topic Yulia Tymoshenko case



KIEV, May 15 (RIA Novosti)

Tags: Viktor Yanukovych, Yulia Tymoshenko, Kiev, Ukraine

Ukrainian ex-Prime Minister Yulia
Tymoshenko, who is serving a seven-year jail
term over her role in the signing of a 2009
gas deal with Russia, has refused to continue
medial treatment for spinal disk herniation,
Ukrainian Deputy Health Minister Olexandr
Tolstanov said on Tuesday.

Last week, Tymoshenko, who has suffered from severe spinal pain, was moved to a hospital in the eastern Ukrainian city of

Related News

- Ukraine's Top Court Shelves
 Tymoshenko Appeal
- Tymoshenko Stops Hunger Strike
- * Tymoshenko Moved from Jail to Hospital
- * Prosecutors Refuse to Open Tymoshenko Assault Case

Multimedia



Mobilise a digital / social media strategy

1. Digital Analysis

- First, analyze media, blogs, videos, message boards, social network communities, Twitter and more – to capture and understand opinions, comments and conversations.
- We will make detailed recommendations for digital / social media strategy.

2. Digital / Social Media Dashboard

- Set up a real-time dashboard that will mine the online media landscape for news articles, social media mentions and conversations / posts.
- Follow all activity in real time and take action immediately.

3. RSS News Aggregator

- Establish RSS Feed Reader button and synchronize with our website
- RSS is used by millions of web users worldwide to keep track of their favourite websites
- RSS shares relevant and up-to-date information with our followers subscribers promptly after the content is published

Monitor sentiment and evaluate progress

Understand and track views of international "Opinion Leaders" & "Policy Makers".

1. Opinion Leaders

- Influence the attitudes and behaviour change of their followers.
- Target communications at them "trickle down" messages to influence target groups.
- This group is sophisticated and more actively engaged in media and debate that general population.

2. Policy Makers

- At the centre of the policy debate; occupy positions of public and private influence.
- Their views are also shaped distinctly by Opinion Leaders.
- While elected officials can be hard to reach for research purposes, their staffs, who represent and advise them, are generally reachable.



Research: Benchmarking

1. European Opinion Leaders

Survey 1,000 respondents in business and political leadership across the EU

2. Ukraine Opinion Leaders

Survey 1,000 respondents within Ukraine to understand attitudes towards the prosecution.

3. EU Brussels & National Policy Makers

(EU institutions, MEPs, country MPs, their political staffers, assistants and stakeholders)

Survey 100 high level respondents to understand their opinions on the prosecution.

Research: Benchmarking

Questions:

- 1. Awareness of the present situation.
- 2. Knowledge of key facts.
- 3. Their perspective on key points and drivers.
- 4. Levels of motivation to actively or passively to be involved.
- 5. Information sources (push and pull).
- 6. Influence & credibility of information sources .
- 7. Impact upon reputations and actions.
- 8. Forecasting of likely scenarios.



Research: Tracking & evaluating progress

Set up dedicated team and system for ongoing tracking research.

- Understand how sentiment is shifting positively or negatively – to inform tactical action.
- Testing of messages and scenarios.
- 1. Focus Group (qualitative)
- 2. Online surveys (quantitative)



4

Forensic Accounting and Investigations

provides an integrated set of services relating to forensic accounting, fraud investigation, anti-corruption and asset tracing.

Our investigative experience is global and diverse. Our experts have been involved in many large fraud, corruption and asset tracing assignments in many jurisdictions. For example, this work includes:

*Asset tracing investigation for the of many billion pounds of state owner.		the alleged improper transfe
*Assisting the management through a series of loan	in the recovery of \$5bn which had to ns, investments and other transactions.	been misappropriated by
*Investigating allegations of bribery a sanctions against Iraq and the	and corruption on behalf of the "Oil For Food" programme.	in relation to
*Assisting the division.	with setting up an anti-corruption	and fraud investigation
*Assisting the Trustee for the liquidate asset tracing investigation, in relation	tion of to the largest ever reported Ponzi scher	with a global me in US financial history.
asset tracing investigation. The alleg	police in a confidential corruption enqui ations had been made against an open e ndustry. The amount involved was in exc	ended mutual fund that held

Our Roadmap: This week

- Mapping of stakeholders, especially media
- Review legal documents and produce briefing packs:
 - Backgrounder
 - Message Book
 - Timeline
- Media train key spokespeople
- Identify media targets and arrange outreach
- Produce diplomatic briefing document
- Engage with third parties involved in diplomatic activity
- Develop diplomatic engagement plan
- Support hearing

- 24 -

Roadmap: Week 2

- in Sweden for diplomatic meetings
- Media engagement in Sweden?
- UK media engagement
- Possible US media engagement
- Develop Trial Plan for 2nd case
- Complete trial team media training
- Training for Press Team
- Launch website and populate it with content



Roadmap: Week 3

- Brussels media outreach
- French media outreach
- German media outreach
- Discuss issues plan for Euro 2012: security/broadcasting/stunts
- Initiate social media strategy
- Present research and stakeholder mitigation plan
- Plan for use of report by law firm

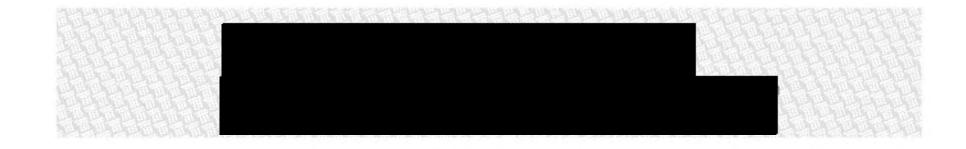


EXHIBIT 1357

From:	
100000	
Sent:	6/22/2012 3:59:27 PM
To:	
Subject:	FW: RAPSI.com: U.S. attorneys in ECHR under Tymoshenko case to cost Ukraine \$12,5k
Yet another	Minister swallows his foot.
From:	
	ne 2012 16:58
	Zwaan, Alex'
Cc: Subject: RE	: RAPSI.com: U.S. attorneys in ECHR under Tymoshenko case to cost Ukraine \$12,5k
My anodnes	s, you are very good value. I suggest that you stick to the agreed reactive statement, if you receive any
enquiries. C	on the fees issue, if asked, I would say that this is the client's prerogative to comment upon but your policy is confidential and make no further comment. But it's clearly a number that will be greeted with considerable
	rious concern is the perception of a conflict of interest. Why has
will need to	ly stupid to have volunteered the information at this time, before your Report has been published. I think you be ready to answer questions on this robustly, to explain very clearly how scrupulously you have undertaken without fear or favour, and that the conclusions will pull no punches.
will need to	be ready to answer questions on this robustly, to explain very clearly how scrupulously you have undertaken
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From: Van I Sent: 22 Ju To Cc Subject: FV See below . Alex Alex R. van	Der Zwaan, Alex ne 2012 16:41 V: RAPSI.com: U.S. attorneys in ECHR under Tymoshenko case to cost Ukraine \$12,5k Would be interested to know your thoughts.
From: Van I Sent: 22 Ju To Cc Subject: FV See below . Alex Alex R. van Associate	Der Zwaan, Alex ne 2012 16:41 V: RAPSI.com: U.S. attorneys in ECHR under Tymoshenko case to cost Ukraine \$12,5k Would be interested to know your thoughts.
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GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. V. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.J.)

1357

Sent: Friday, June 22, 2012 3:15 PM

Cc: Subject: RAPSI.com: U.S. attorneys in ECHR under Tymoshenko case to cost Ukraine \$12,5k
U.S. attorneys in ECHR under Tymoshenko case to cost Ukraine \$12,5k
KIEV, June 22 - RAPSI. The U.S. law firm Skadden will cooperate with the Ukrainian Justice Ministry as part of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko's lawsuit in the European Court of Human Rights, and charge the country no less than \$12,500,
In August 2011, Tymoshenko submitted to the European court an appeal against her arrest. Her defense submitted to the court additional documents on the violation of her right to a fair trial.
The Justice Ministry attracted Skadden to take part in the process under Tymoshenko's procedure in the court in late May. Earlier said Skadden is a leading firm.
The Justice Ministry entered into a contract with the firm worth 100,000 hryvnas (\$12,500) in accordance with Ukrainian legislation
A Kiev district court sentenced Tymoshenko in October 2011 to seven years in prison for abuse of power in signing gas contracts between
The judge declared that Tymoshenko abused her position as prime minister and issued directives regarding gas contract negotiations in Moscow, which were poorly documented and lacked the government's consent.
Tymoshenko has been diagnosed with a spinal disc herniation.
German doctors have been treating her at a hospital since May 9.

To ensure compliance with Treasury Department regulations, we advise you that, unless otherwise expressly indicated, any federal tax advice contained in this message was not intended or written to be used, and cannot be used, for the purpose of (i) avoiding tax-related penalties under the Internal Revenue Code or applicable stat or local tax law provisions or (ii) promoting, marketing or recommending to another party any tax-related matters addressed herein. ***********************************

This email (and any attachments thereto) is intended only for use by the addressee(s) named herein and may contain legally privileged and/or confidential information. If you are not the intended recipient of this email, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this email (and any attachments thereto) is strictly prohibited. If you receive this email in error please immediately notify me and permanently delete the original email (and any copy of any email) and any printout thereof.
Further information about the firm, a list of the Partners and their professional qualifications will be provided upon request.

EXHIBIT 1486

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 496 of 577

Subject: Dinner / Manafort, reservation under Location: Capitol Hill Club 300 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003 Start: 3/19/2013 11:00 PM End: 3/20/2013 1:00 AM Show Time As: Busy Recurrence: (none) Meeting Status: Organizer Organizer: Required Attendees: Paul Manafort Rick Gates Optional Attendees: and Paul to have Dinner with March 19 at 7pm time may be moved up, depending on vote.... Cc: Rick and From:



EXHIBIT 1608

From: To: Sent: Subject:	5/4/2012 6:35:31 PM Send to Rick?
Want me to send to Ric	k, or you?
Original Message	-
From:	
Sent: Friday, May 04, 20	12 2:33 PM
To:	
Subject: RE: Have	
pls send to rick to have	ve centre send to us
Original Message	-
From:	
Sent: Friday, May 04, 20	12 10:17 AM
To:	
Subject: RE: Have	
This could work, but on	e condition: Either s counsel or I should draft the statement they sign.
indirectly supervised, d	and under the forms, we need to ensure that ECFMU is not "directly or irected, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part" by a country or a political party. See 22 USC 611.
Original Message	-
From:	
Sent: Friday, May 04, 20	12 9:55 AM
To:	
Subject: Fw: Have	
Spoke last night	
	nt that centre gets no funding from gov or party We should put them under a rt on this issue Then LDA file





---- Original Message -----

From: Rick Gates [mailto:

Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 06:17 PM

To:

Subject: Re: Have

No worries. Call back when you can. Thanks.

On May 3, 2012, at 6:17 PM, wrote:

> To wait 20 minutes to talk

>



EXHIBIT 1763



PLEASE NOTE NEW ADDRESS.

The information contained in this transmission is attorney privileged and/or confidential information intended for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited.

From: Rick Gates

Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2012 8:49 AM

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.J.)

1763

Subject: Assessment

Sorry for the fire drill but I need some input from you by 100pm today. I need you guys to pull some notes from each firm that pertain to an assessment on the client and our efforts. In simple terms, I need to know, from your perspective, the following:

- 1. What has gone well with the project
- 2. What can be done better (strategy, communications, planning, etc.)
- 3. Reviewing the last 6-months what are the strengths and weaknesses you have seen (this can include those of the team and those of the client. For example, the Durbin resolution showed us that the client is extremely weak in Congress even with an Embassy present)

As we know in this business, client relationships are an evolving process. We do not need to get into strategy here. Call this your thoughts over the last 6-months. I need to take your material and create a larger document that will be used to brief the President. There will be no attributions. This will be deemed an assessment by Paul on what Ukraine has done well and what it can do better as we move into 2013. It does not need to be polished as it is more notes for me to build the larger document. It can be in bullet format or how ever you like. Call me if you have any questions. Thanks.

- 1. What has gone well with the project?
 - Our outreach to most offices on the Hill and opinion leaders in DC have been well received, but in order to maintain credibility, we must deliver surrogates that we set up meetings for.
 - Crisis communication, from both the client perspective and our perspective has been well defined.
 - Election communication and strategy. The constant flow of information enabled our team to thoroughly and comprehensively update third parties that were interested in the elections.
 - Reporters responded well to our daily outreach because there was substance to them.
 - @modern_ukraine receives a good level of engagement on Twitter and has high-quality followers. There has been good communication here between MCW and FH.
- 2. What can be done better (strategy, communications, planning, etc.). Reviewing the last 6-months what are the strengths and weaknesses you have seen (this can include those of the team and those of the client. For example, the Durbin resolution showed us that the client is extremely weak in Congress even with an Embassy present).
 - We need to re-start our outreach in 2013 with a proactive, systematic approach.
 - Define our messaging.
 - Concentrate our outreach.
 - Build relationships with the new leadership of both Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees.
 - Manufacture initiatives to engage US opinion leaders.
 - Develop an early warning system within the Administration and State Department to alert us of possible actions and statements regarding Ukraine.
 - Major problem: Fire drills & trip dysfunction. In order to do our work well, we need time.
 This will allow our team to eliminate scrambling to see who is available to do our
 meetings, and enable our team to really get the most beneficial meetings for Ukrainian
 officials.
 - Embassy double-booking and/or taking the lead on meetings we set up (without our knowledge). We need to better open the lines of communication between our organization and the Embassy.
 - The ECFMU has withstood initial scrutiny and has started to become a voice that opinion leaders consider. In order to become more credible, we need to initiate the following to become more visible and build a reputation:
 - Programming throughout 2013 in DC (and possibly NYC)
 - A new leader of the ECFMU that can be a credible, reliable and relatively unbiased voice.
 - Consideration of a Washington voice/official of the ECFMU in Washington, and/or an Executive Director of the US Allies Project (same criteria as ECFMU leader in Brussels).
 - Surrogates (foreign policy analysts, human rights experts, etc.) both on contract and not, that we can work to cycle in to panels and conversations led by NGO's that involve Ukraine in regular intervals.

- Media engagement. Outside of the elections, it has been difficult to drive a narrative with
 the press corps without surrogates that can deliver meaningful news that relates to the
 US. We need to develop and manufacture initiatives and programming to enable
 ECFMU to engage media in a purposeful way with a more tangible and action-oriented
 pitch.
 - To this end, our blogger program during the election-season produced impactful results. We strongly recommend restarting this program to help develop the aforementioned initiatives and programming.
 - We also recommend increasing our access to Facebook so that we can work to make it as engaging as our current Twitter account.
 - The website upgrade that was talked about a few months back is also strongly encouraged in order to increase functionality from the current word press website.
- It would be helpful for our team to analyze a list of available surrogates for the Centre.
 We think it would be productive to go through the list and give accurate assessments on the plausible success that each visitor would have and the attention that the visits would receive. This would allow us to plan far ahead of time for who we would target with each visitor.
- Opposition conversations. We need to change tactics regarding the opponents that we
 face in the US. Knowing that we will not convert opponents, we need to let the air out of
 the room and slowly chip away at opponents (ex:
 have been engaged in conversations that we have had with them and have both reached
 out to us regarding their concerns and points of view).
 - We have to define what we are saying and who we need to be saying it to.

EXHIBIT 1937

From:
To: Rick Gates
CC:

Sent: 11/19/2013 12:50:29 AM

Subject: Fwd: RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF FORMER

UKRAINE PRIME MINISTER YULIA TYMOSHENKO PASSES US SENATE

Attachments: ATT00001.htm; ATT00002.htm; ATT00003.htm; BILLS-113sres165rs.pdf;

Ukraine Res Floor - Final.pdf; image001.png

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From:
Date: November 18, 2013 at 7:34:42 PM EST

Subject: Fw: 1 RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF FORMER UKRAINE PRIME MINISTER YULIA TYMOSHENKO PASSES US

SENATE

Here's statement and his joint statement with

Principal

The information contained in this transmission is attorney privileged and/or confidential information intended for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited.

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.J.)

1937

For Immediate Release

Contact:

November 18, 2013

RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF FORMER UKRAINE PRIME MINISTER YULIA TYMOSHENKO PASSES US SENATE

Tymoshenko Has Been Held Since 2011 on Politically Motivated Charges

Washington, D.C. - and member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, today led the unanimous passage of a Senate resolution calling for the release of Ukraine's former Prime Minister, Yulia Tymoshenko.

In 2011, Tymoshenko was sentenced to seven years in prison for allegedly abusing her power in the awarding of a natural gas contract. Numerous political and human rights groups have called the charges politically motivated and selectively prosecuted and called for Tymoshenko's release.

said: "I am dismayed by the seeming inability to find a reasonable compromise that would allow Ms. Tymoshenko to be released to seek medical treatment abroad, a move that would allow us to instead focus on strengthening the important ties between the US, EU, and Ukraine. Just last week, after two years of dithering on finding a solution, the Ukrainian Parliament postponed a vote on a bill that would have secured Tymoshenko's release. So today, I've offered, and the Senate has

unanimously approved, a resolution calling for the immediate release of Yulia Tymoshenko."

"There is still time to find a solution before the Eastern partnership Summit takes place at the end of this month, so I am hopeful that our friends in Ukraine will be able to find an honorable way forward that puts the best interest of their country first and ends Ms. Tymoshenko's detention."

"This is a moment requiring presidential leadership to create an opportunity for a more hopeful and prosperous future for the Ukraine, not a time to step backward and retreat on the march toward increased democracy and freedom. President Yanukovych needs to make the right decision, sign the Association Agreement with the European Union, and take the necessary steps to achieve this important goal."

Since her trial and imprisonment in 2011, numerous human rights groups and government around the world, as well as the European Court of Human Rights, have called the charges politically motivated and called for Ms. Tymoshenko's release.

The Parliamentary Assembly Council of Europe passed a resolution in January 2012, declaring that the articles under which Ms. Tymoshenko was convicted were, "overly broad in application and effectively allow for ex post facto criminalization of normal political decision making."

Later that year, both the European Parliament and the U.S. Senate passed resolutions condemning the sentencing of Ms. Tymoshenko and calling for her release.

In late April, The European Court of Human Rights ruled that Ms. Tymoshenko's pre-trial detention was unlawful, that the lawfulness of her detention had not been properly reviewed, that her right to liberty had been restricted, and that she had no possibility to seek compensation for her unlawful deprivation of liberty.

<u>Video of</u>	floor remarks on t	<u>he resolution will be available here.</u> A
copy of the resolu	ution – cosponsore	d by
-		<u>-</u> is
attached along w	ith Senator	prepared remarks on the measure.

III

CalendarNo. 95

113TH CONGRESS 1st Session

S. RES. 165

Calling for the release from prison of former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko in light of the recent European Court of Human Rights ruling.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 10, 2013

June 25, 2013

Reported by with an amendment and an amendment to the preamble

[Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert the part printed in italic] [Strike the preamble and insert the part printed in italic]

RESOLUTION

Calling for the release from prison of former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko in light of the recent European Court of Human Rights ruling.

Whereas, in August 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament declared independence from the Soviet Union and approved decrees to mint its own currency and take command of all Soviet military units on its soil;

- Whereas, in December 1991, 90 percent of Ukrainians voted in a referendum to support independence from the Soviet Union;
- Whereas Ukraine has experienced increased economic and political cooperation with Europe and the United States since its independence from the Soviet Union;
- Whereas, in 1996, Ukraine adopted its first democratic constitution that included basic freedoms of speech, assembly, religion, and press;
- Whereas, in 2004, Ukrainians organized a series of historic protests, strikes, and sit-ins known as the "Orange Revolution" to protest electoral fraud in the 2004 presidential election;
- Whereas Yulia Tymoshenko was a leader of the Orange Revolution and was first elected as Prime Minister in 2005;
- Whereas, in the 2010 presidential election, incumbent President Viktor Yushchenko won only 5.5 percent in the first round of voting, which left former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and then Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko to face one another in a run-off election;
- Whereas Mr. Yanukovich defeated Ms. Tymoshenko by a margin of 49 percent to 44 percent;
- Whereas, on October 11, 2011, Ms. Tymoshenko was found guilty and sentenced to seven years in prison on charges that she abused her position as Prime Minister in connection with a Russian natural gas contract;
- Whereas, on January 26, 2012, the Parliamentary Assembly
 Council of Europe (PACE) passed a resolution (1862)
 that declared that the articles under which Ms.
 Tymoshenko was convicted were "overly broad in applica-

tion and effectively allow for ex post facto criminalization of normal political decision making";

Whereas, on May 30, 2012, the European Parliament passed a resolution (C153/21) deploring the sentencing of Ms. Tymoshenko;

Whereas, on September 22, 2012, the United States Senate passed a resolution (S. Res. 466, 112th Congress) that condemned the selective and politically motivated prosecution and imprisonment of Yulia Tymoshenko, called for her release, and called on the Department of State to institute a visa ban against those responsible for the imprisonment of Ms. Tymoshenko and the other political leaders associated with the 2004 Orange Revolution;

Whereas, on April 7, 2013, President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich pardoned former interior minister Yuri Lutsenko and several other opposition figures allied with Ms. Tymoshenko;

Whereas, on April 30, 2013, the European Court of Human Rights, which settles eases of rights abuses after plaintiffs have exhausted appeals in their home country courts, ruled that Ms. Tymoshenko's pre-trial detention had been arbitrary; that the lawfulness of her detention had not been properly reviewed; that her right to liberty had been restricted; and, that she had no possibility to seek compensation for her unlawful deprivation of liberty;

Whereas, on April 30, 2013,

reiterated the United States call that

Ms. Tymoshenko "be released and that the practice of selective prosecution end immediately" in light of the European Court of Human Rights decision;

4

Whereas Ukraine hopes to sign an association agreement with the European Union during the Eastern Partnership Summit in November 2013; and

Whereas, after the European Court of Human Rights ruling,

stated that "Ukraine is still miles away from fulfilling European standards" and must "end its selective justice" before signing the association agreement: Now, therefore, be it

- Whereas, in August 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament declared independence from the Soviet Union and approved decrees to mint its own currency and take command of all Soviet military units on its soil;
- Whereas, in December 1991, 90 percent of Ukrainians voted in a referendum to support independence from the Soviet Union:
- Whereas Ukraine has experienced increased economic and political cooperation with Europe and the United States since its independence from the Soviet Union;
- Whereas, in 1996, Ukraine adopted its first democratic constitution that included basic freedoms of speech, assembly, religion, and press;
- Whereas in 2004, Ukrainians organized a series of historic protests, strikes, and sit-ins known as the "Orange Revolution" to protest electoral fraud in the 2004 presidential election;
- Whereas Yulia Tymoshenko was a leader of the Orange Revolution and was first elected as Prime Minister in 2005;
- Whereas, in the 2010 presidential election, incumbent President Viktor Yushchenko won only 5.5 percent in the first round of voting, which left former Prime Minister Viktor

- Yanukovich and then Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko to face one another in a run-off election;
- Whereas Mr. Yanukovich defeated Ms. Tymoshenko by a margin of 49 percent to 44 percent;
- Whereas, on October 11, 2011, Ms. Tymoshenko was found guilty and sentenced to seven years in prison on charges that she abused her position as Prime Minister in connection with a Russian natural gas contract;
- Whereas, on January 26, 2012, the Parliamentary Assembly Council of Europe (PACE) passed a resolution (1862) that declared that the articles under which Ms. Tymoshenko was convicted were "overly broad in application and effectively allow for expost facto criminalization of normal political decision making";
- Whereas, on May 30, 2012, the European Parliament passed a resolution (C153/21) deploring the sentencing of Ms. Tymoshenko;
- Whereas, on September 22, 2012, the United States Senate passed a resolution (S. Res 466, 112th Congress) that condemned the selective and politically motivated prosecution and imprisonment of Yulia Tymoshenko, called for her release based on the politicized charges, and called on the Department of State to institute a visa ban against those responsible for the imprisonment of Ms. Tymoshenko and the other political leaders associated with the 2004 Orange Revolution;
- Whereas, on April 7, 2013, President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich pardoned former interior minister Yuri Lutsenko and several other opposition figures allied with Ms. Tymoshenko;

Whereas, on April 30, 2013, the European Court of Human Rights, which settles cases of rights abuses after plaintiffs have exhausted appeals in their home country courts, ruled that Ms. Tymoshenko's pre-trial detention had been arbitrary; that the lawfulness of her pre-trial detention had not been properly reviewed; that her right to liberty had been restricted; and, that she had no possibility to seek compensation for her unlawful deprivation of liberty;

Whereas, on April 30, 2013,

reiterated the United States call that Ms. Tymoshenko 'be released and that the practice of selective prosecution end immediately' in light of the European Court of Human Rights decision;

Whereas Ukraine hopes to sign an association agreement with the European Union during the Eastern Partnership Summit in November 2013; and

Whereas, after the European Court of Human Rights ruling,

stated that "Ukraine is still miles away from fulfilling European standards" and must "end its selective justice" before signing the association agreement: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 Resolved, That the Senate—
- 2 (1) ealls on the Government of Ukraine to re-
- 3 lease former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko from
- 4 imprisonment in light of the April 2013 European
- 5 Court of Human Rights verdict;
- 6 (2) calls on the European Union members to in-
- 7 elude the release of Ms. Tymoshenko from imprison-
- 8 ment as an important criterion for signing an asso-

7

1	ciation agreement with Ukraine at the upcoming
2	Eastern Partnership Summit in Lithuania;
3	(3) expresses its belief and hope that Ukraine's
4	future rests with stronger ties to Europe, the United
5	States, and others in the community of democracies;
6	and
7	(4) expresses its concern and disappointment
8	that the continued selective and politically motivated
9	imprisonment of former Prime Minister Yulia
10	Tymoshenko unnecessarily detracts from Ukraine's
11	otherwise strong relationship with Europe, the
12	United States, and the community of democracies.
13	That the Senate—
14	(1) calls on the Government of Ukraine to release
15	former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko from im-
16	prisonment based on politicized and selective charges
17	and in light of the April 2013 European Court of
18	Human Rights verdict;
19	(2) calls on the European Union members to in-
20	clude the release of Ms. Tymoshenko from imprison-
21	ment based on politicized and selective charges as a
22	criterion for signing an association agreement with
23	Ukraine at the upcoming Eastern Partnership Sum-
24	mit in Lithuania;

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1	(3) expresses its belief and hope that Ukraine's
2	future rests with stronger ties to Europe, the United
3	States, and others in the community of democracies;
4	and
5	(4) expresses its concern and disappointment
6	that the continued selective and politically motivated
7	imprisonment of former Prime Minister Yulia
8	Tymoshenko unnecessarily detracts from Ukraine's
9	otherwise strong relationship with Europe, the United
10	States, and the community of democracies.

Calendar No.95

113TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

s. **RES165**

RESOLUTION

Calling for the release from prison of former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko in light of the recent European Court of Human Rights ruling.

June 25, 2013

Reported with an amendment and an amendment to the preamble

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/ITA (Utilizzare queste impostazioni per creare documenti Adobe PDF che devono essere conformi o verificati in base a PDF/X-1a:2001, uno standard ISO per lo scambio di contenuto grafico. Per ulteriori informazioni sulla creazione di documenti PDF compatibili con PDF/X-1a, consultare la Guida dell'utente di Acrobat. I documenti PDF creati possono essere aperti con Acrobat e Adobe Reader 4.0 e versioni successive.)

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/NLD (Gebruik deze instellingen om Adobe PDF-documenten te maken die moeten worden gecontroleerd of moeten voldoen aan PDF/X-1a:2001, een ISO-standaard voor het uitwisselen van grafische gegevens. Raadpleeg de gebruikershandleiding van Acrobat voor meer informatie over het maken van PDF-documenten die compatibel zijn met PDF/X-1a. De gemaakte PDF-documenten kunnen worden geopend met Acrobat en Adobe Reader 4.0 en hoger.)

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Senator Ukraine Resolution November 18, 2013

As Prepared for Delivery

Mr. President, I rise today to speak on the continued imprisonment of former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Ms. Yulia Tymoshenko. Sadly, for over two years now, Ms. Tymoshenko has been languishing in prison on politicized charges that she allegedly abused her position in connection with a Russian natural gas contract.

Now, I am not going to judge the wisdom of that gas contract – one of an endless series of policy decisions any chief executive has to make in any nation.

But this is an imprisonment that has been recognized by the international community, countless human rights organizations, and by the European Court on Human Rights, as selectively prosecuted and politically motivated. This is an imprisonment that has a whiff of neighboring Belarus, where those who run for President against strongman Alexander Lukashenko get thrown in jail – not of Ukraine, which is looking to solidify its hard fought place among the community of democracies.

When I visited Ukraine last May, I had the opportunity to meet with President Yanukovich, the prime minister, and the foreign minister. I was most grateful for their time. During those discussions I was repeatedly assured that Ms. Tymoshenko's imprisonment would be solved.

But it wasn't.

So last year, I introduced a Senate Resolution calling for Mr. Tymoshenko's release.

The resolution passed unanimously last September.

And yet, here we are today, more than a year later and a few weeks before an important opportunity for Ukraine to strengthen its ties to the West by potentially signing an association agreement with the European Union, and Tymoshenko is still in jail.

Mr. President, this is an embarrassment. This is a costly distraction from all the other very important issues Ukraine and its friends have to work on together. It plays into Russian President Putin's hands – who would like nothing more than to see the EU association agreement scuttled because of the failure to release Ms. Tymoshenko.

Why would Ukraine's leaders want to succumb to Russian bullying and jeopardize stronger economic and political ties to the West over a simple grudge regarding the previous prime minister?

Mr. President, I am dismayed by the seeming inability to find a reasonable compromise that would allow Ms. Tymoshenko to be released to seek medical treatment abroad, a move that would allow us to instead focus on strengthening the important ties between the US, EU, and Ukraine.

Ukraine is our friend and ally. It helped us in Libya and Afghanistan. Its leadership rightly sees Ukraine's future with the West.

But when you join the community of democracies you simply do not throw your former political opponents in jail over policy agreements.

You instead offer better ideas and best them in elections.

That is why this summer, regrettably, I introduced a follow-up resolution again calling for the release of Ms. Tymoshenko. I am happy to note that Senators joined me on that resolution.

And let me add that's not a group of Senators that you see agree on too many issues in this Senate. But we agree on this.

For months, we have been waiting, assured that a resolution to Ms. Tymoshenko's case would come to fruition.

We saw Ukraine take promising steps toward political reform. We saw some of Ms. Tymoshenko's allies pardoned.

And over the course of the last few weeks in particular, we were optimistic that negotiations led by former and were seemingly making headway toward a solution in which Ms. Tymoshenko would leave to Germany for medical treatment.

We were hopeful that such a solution could come in time for Ukraine to sign an association agreement with the EU during the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius at the end of this month, a step strongly supported in the United States.

We held off on passage of this resolution with the hope that real progress would soon take place.

But, last Wednesday, after two years of dithering on finding a solution, the Ukrainian Parliament postponed a vote on a bill that would have secured such a resolution – a move that only adds to the long list of missed opportunities.

And that is why today, disappointingly, my colleagues and I have decided to move forward and pass this resolution.

There is still time to find a solution before the Eastern partnership Summit takes place at the end of this month, so I am hopeful that our friends in Ukraine will be able to find an honorable way forward that puts the best interest of their country first and ends Ms. Tymoshenko's detention.

In the meantime, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to pass S. Res. 165, as reported out of the Foreign Relations Committee.

ae 538 of 577 00049052 FOIA - Confidential Treatment Requested

MEMORANDUM

TO:

Honorable

FROM:

SUBJECT:

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DATE:

April 5, 2012

Projects and Plans

At our meeting today, you asked me to lay a plan of action – and a proposed schedule – for the projects that we discussed. Broadly speaking, the project will consist of Skadden's lawyers providing legal services to the Government of Ukraine that include providing advice on the rule of law and providing consultation with respect to principles of due process as applied in the criminal justice system.

1. The First Project

The first project is to conduct an inquiry about the process and the procedures used to prosecute former Prime Minister Tymoshenko, and to write a report addressing various questions that arise with respect to her prosecution, trial and sentencing.

It is important at the outset for the Government of Ukraine to know that Skadden is only willing to take on this assignment with the understanding that Skadden's lawyers will be given adequate access to sources of information and individuals with first-hand knowledge of the case as a basis for writing the report. It is also important that the Government of Ukraine understand that Skadden's work product, Skadden's report to the Ministry of Justice and Skadden's professional opinion will be rendered in good faith and with total independence.

It is understood by all parties that this work will be conducted under the protection of attorneyclient and work product privilege, and that any decision about disclosure will be entirely up to the Government of Ukraine.

In the course of this project, Skadden will conduct an evaluation of the investigation, the charging decision, prosecution, conviction and sentencing of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and write a report to the Ministry of Justice evaluating that process through the prism of American standards of due process. We are not being asked to comment on the guilt or innocence of Ms. Tymoshenko. Generally speaking, we are being asked to provide a professional opinion — based on our own experience in the American criminal justice system — as to whether she got a fair trial.

To that end, we will consider the following questions that arise with respect to the prosecution, trial and sentencing of Yulia Tymoshenko:

Confidential Attorney-Client Privilege



- Was the crime that she was charged with legitimate? Was their any problem with vagueness or adequate notice? We will look at the provision of the Ukrainian criminal code that she was alleged to have violated – and convicted of violating – and we will try to determine whether there are comparable statutes in the United States or in Western Europe and whether there have been comparable prosecutions.
- Was the investigation thorough and fair, and was the charging decision justified by the evidence? We will look at the methodology and means used to investigate and charge her, and we will opine on two aspects of this question: (1) whether the investigation or the charging decision in any respect could be improved; and (2) whether her rights were or were not violated in the course of the investigation and the charging decision made as a result of the investigation.
- Was the trial fair? Were the judges experienced, independent and fair-minded? What was the process by which the prosecutor presented incriminating evidence to the court?
- Was she afforded due process of law? We will look at whether she was given a fair opportunity to defend herself and to make legal and factual arguments as to her innocence. Was she represented by experienced counsel? Was she given a fair trial and afforded due process of law?
- Was the sentence excessive? We will look at the sentencing decision, whether it was within the realm of reason, or whether it was unduly harsh. Was she given adequate opportunity to argue for leniency and to present evidence supporting that argument?

In our view, it will be necessary for our lawyers to have access to individuals representing the following five categories of witnesses to carry out our assignment:

- Investigator(s)
- Prosecutor(s)
- Judge(s)
- Witness(es)
- Legal Expert

Schedule for the First Project

We anticipate that it will require a total of two weeks of work on the ground in Ukraine to carry out this assignment. We hope to be able to meet with you and your assistants during the week of April 9, 2012 at which time you will identify those individuals who should be interviewed, and we will set up a schedule of appointments to carry out those interviews. If such appointments can be arranged to occur during that same week, it will speed the process. In any event, we would hope that the interviews could be concluded by the end of the month of April. We would

Confidential Attorney-Client Privilege use the month of May to carry out any additional interviews and research that may be required, and it is our hope that we will be able to provide you with a draft report by the end of May 2012.

2. The second project

You have expressed an interest in consulting with us and seeking advice relating to the prosecution of Ms. Tymoshenko scheduled to begin on April 15. To that end, you have agreed that it would be beneficial for a Skadden lawyer who is experienced in criminal prosecutions and who has participated in criminal prosecutions in the United States to meet with the trial team engaged in the prosecution of Tymoshenko. We would hope that a team of Skadden lawyers could travel to Ukraine during the week of April 9 or – at the latest – the week of April 16th to meet with members of the Tymoshenko trial team.

Again, please understand that all communications between Skadden lawyers and lawyers for Ukraine will be confidential and covered by the attorney-client privilege, and all work-product prepared by Skadden lawyers for use in this assignment will be protected by the work-product privilege.

Confidential Attorney-Client Privilege

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 544 of 577

From: Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2012 1:21 PM To:

Subject: FW: Tomorrow--Friday 4/6

When you get information about when we will be meeting with the trial team in Karkiv, we can see if Victor can get us a plane. See below.

----Original Message---From:
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2012 7:20 AM
To:

If you give me a precise idea of your travel plans, I will go back to him asap. Please let me know when you have decided to travel and would like the plane. Thanks.

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

Subject: Re: Tomorrow--Friday 4/6

From:
Date: Wed, 11 Apr 2012 07:08:22
To:
Subject: Re: Tomorrow--Friday 4/6

Victor asked us to come to him if ever we need his help. We are returning to Ukraine to meet with the Tymoshenko trial team in Karkiv on Thursday or Friday. Rather than spending 4 hours on the road to get to Karkiv — and another 4 to get back — it would be great if we could use a small plane to get there and back. Any hope that Victor could help with that?

From:
Sent: Saturday, April 07, 2012 09:13 AM
To:
Subject: Re: Tomorrow--Friday 4/6

Spoke to Victor. Very impressed and pleased with the meeting as well. Suggest you give Paul a similar briefing to the one you provided me. Safe travels and get some rest.

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

----Original Message---From:
Date: Fri. 6 Apr 2012 09:31:16
To:
Subject: Re: Tomorrow--Friday 4/6

I will call you tomorrow. Can you give me a good phone number for me to call you?

From:
Sent: Friday, April 06, 2012 06:56 AM
To:
Subject: Re: Tomorrow--Friday 4/6

Yes sure...would prefer if you could call me tomy so I might reach Victor over the weekend to expedite and facilitate. Needless to say



I will do all I can within my power to get done what needs to get done to keep things on track. Thanks very much,
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile
Original Message
From:
Date; Fri, 6 Apr 2012 04:03:32
To:
Subject: Re: TomorrowFriday 4/6
We just had breakfast with Mi I thought it went well but you will have to check with him. I need to talk to you about funding this project. We are wanted and needed right away, e.g., next week, but we can't deploy without payment in advance. We have two projects in addition to the report we discussed (1) helping the trial team in the second prosecution, and; (2) advising the Justice Ministry about Tymoshenko's case in the European Human Rights Court. Are you around on Monday?
Original Message
From:
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2012 07:09 AM
To:
Subject: Re: TomorrowFriday 4/6
Thanks very much,
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile
Original Message
From:
Date: Thu, 5 Apr 2012 06:57:10 To:
Subject: Re: TomorrowFriday 4/6
Perfect. We will be in the lobby at 720 am tomorrow. There are 3 of us:
Original Message
From:
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2012 06:46 AM
To:
Subject: TomorrowFriday 4/6
Dear
Hope your trip is going well.
Wanted to confirm that you and your colleagues will be picked up in front of the Intercontinental Hotel at 720am Friday morning.
Breakfast should not take more than 1 hour and you should be back at your hotel before 930am.
Please confirm that you have gotten this message.
Thanks as always.
All best
Automorphic techniques
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

To ensure compliance with Treasury Department regulations, we advise you that, unless otherwise expressly indicated, any federal tax advice contained in this message was not intended or written to be used, and cannot be used, for the purpose of (i) avoiding tax-related penalties under the Internal Revenue Code or applicable state or local tax law provisions or (ii) promoting, marketing or recommending to another party any tax-related matters addressed herein.

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Further information about the firm, a list of the Partners and their professional qualifications will be provided upon request.

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Further information about the firm, a list of the Partners and their professional qualifications will be provided upon request.

From:
Sent: Thursday, August 09, 2012 9:46 PM
To:
Subject: RE: Kyiv Post Editorial: Skadden Stink

Does Manafort have the new Kyiv Post editorial? Renewed and intensified urgency -- the "Skadden stink." The issue is about to explode, including in the American press. Far, far better to get ahead of it now while we still have a bit of a chance.

Skadden

From:

Sent: Thursday, August 09, 2012 4:40 PM

10:

Subject: Re: Kyiv Post Editorial: Skadden Stink

I have already told Manafort he has got to get out whether voluntarily or non voluntarily.

From:

Sent: Thursday, August 09, 2012 04:33 PM

To:

Subject: FW: Kyiv Post Editorial: Skadden Stink

We really need to get them to disclose the funding. The issue's going to build and build, and get worse and worse, and then there will be disclosure. First rule of damage control. Get it out there. Maybe worth a call or e-mail to Manafort (forwarding the editorial)?

Skadden

From:

Sent: Thursday, August 09, 2012 4:02 PM

To:

Cc:

Subject: Kyiv Post Editorial: Skadden Stink

Please see the below editorial, just posted on the Kyiv Post website. If there is anything more we can/should be saying beyond our approved statement and confirming involvement at this point, please let us know ASAP.

Skadden Stink

Aug. 9, 2012, 9:50 p.m. | Editorial - by Kyiv Post



On Aug. 28, Yulia Tymoshenko will clash with her own government in the European Court for Human Rights. She will claim that her rights were violated, including the right to a fair trial, in a case that sent her to prison for seven years for abuse of office.

The government is preparing its defense with the help of American law company Skadden. But this cooperation is highly suspicious with very few details about the contract being revealed, and those that are made public raising even more questions.

The government claims that Skadden, a top American firm with an annual turnover of \$2.17 billion, works for a mere \$12,000 for Ukraine's government. None of the company's expenses is paid, including expensive flights and stay in Fairmont Hotel, where prices start at 300 euros per night.

Skadden representatives have visited Ukraine at least three or four times. In at least one of the cases the team was made up of two partners from the Washington office, plus two associates. One of the partners, normally charges \$1,065 per hour, according to the Wall Street Journal.

The group stayed in Ukraine for several days and visited the imprisoned Tymoshenko in Kharkiv during a trip in June. That trip alone would have cost many times more than the ridiculous \$12,000 the government claims it is paying.

These facts fuel speculation that Skadden is being paid by someone on the side. No one knows who is paying Skadden, and it's a question the company is ignoring. So the public may never know of conflicts of interest, or worse things, that may lurk behind this arrangement.

We hope that Skadden will address these serious concerns. We hope that US anti-corruption bodies are also looking into this issue, since there is little hope that the case will be investigated in Ukraine. Another question is what kind of report Skadden will produce, and how it will be used.

Members of the opposition suspect that parts of the report will be used to whitewash the actions of the prosecutors, the judges and everyone else who was instrumental in Tymoshenko's conviction. If that is the case, Skadden's reputation will be tarnished.

It's not too late for the company (and Ukraine's government) to set the record straight, and disclose to the public the details of this suspicious contract and who is footing the bill.



From:
Sent: Thursday, August 30, 2012 10:42 PM
To:
CC:
Subject: Re: Project 2

While has prepared a memo for distribution to the T2 team, and we had agreed a date internally to meet with them, I have not yet communicated that intention to the OPG, except in very general terms. As a result, we can let things lie for the time being, and I doubt they are expecting, or will request a meeting or any work product from us for the moment.

If they do ask us, we can discuss how to deal, but I will hold off discussing P2 with the OPG for the time being and until we hear from you on this.



From: Sent: Thursday, August 30, 2012 10:04 PM

Subject: RE: Project 2

You are right that everything would be better, I think, if T1 could be released and absorbed and discussed before T2 truly got underway. As you know, we got delayed because of translation time requirements. I am extremely concered that information about Skadden's involvement in T2 has come to the attention of Tymoshenko's lawyer, and that he will use it to discredit the report at some point. We have our explanations and defenses, e.g., as rule of law consultants, we are assisting and advising Ukr on how to manage the second trial with an eye toward guaranteeing due processs of law and meeting Western standards. That is what T2 is all about.

From:

Sent: Thursday, August 30, 2012 4:42 PM

To:

Subject: Re: Project 2

Hi

The launch and publication of the report is clearly the priority here. We fixed this date to be before the beginning of T 2 and on dates which we thought might post date publication of the report.

I hear anecdotally that there may be a further adjournment of T2 on medical grounds - which would suit because we have comments on the evidence which, ideally we would like to deliver as early as possible.

Regards

From:

Sent: Thursday, August 30, 2012 07:59 PM

10:

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.J.)
2078

Cc: Subject: Project 2			
	week (week of Septemberore the report comes of	He told me that you ber 3) for Project 2 activity. I am concerned out, and that would do enormous damage to to me some time during the day tomorrow a	the credibility of

From:	
Sent: Thursday, August 30, 2012 12:10 AM	
To: Subject: RE: Project 2	
Whichever is the barbarian that would be you.	
From: Sent: Wednesday, August 29: 2012 6:57 PM	
Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2012 6:57 PM To: Subject: Re: Project 2	
Am I the Chinese or the mongolian?	
Sent from my iPhone.	
On Aug 29, 2012, at 6:53 PM	wrote:
Since we are trying to respect the Chinese Wall aspect of the two different projects you until it is closer to release.	, we probably should wait to show it to
From: Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2012 6:50 PM To: Subject: Re: Project 2	
Have not but would like to.	
Sent from my iPhone.	
On Aug 29, 2012, at 6:41 PM	wrote:
Thanks. We are on the verge of releasing the report. Low profile for the time being	is best. Have your read the report?
From Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2012 6:39 PM To:	
Subject: Re: Project 2	
Will do.	
Sent from my iPhone.	
On Aug 29, 2012, at 6:36 PM	wrote:
Yes	GOVERNMENT EXHIBIT
	U.S. v. MANAFORT, 1:17-cr-201 (A.B.

From:

Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2012 6:17 PM

To:

Subject: RE: Project 2

We have a memo that is probably getting translated right now that was to go to them end of the week. Should we put the brakes on that?

From:

Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2012 6:00 PM

To:

Subject: Project 2

Please do not talk to the Ukrainians or make any plans with the Ukrainians to return for purposes of advancing Project 2 unless and until you have talked with me first. Thanks

Case 1:17-cr-00201-ABJ Document 525-2 Filed 02/23/19 Page 558 of 577

From: Sent: Wednesday, November 28, 2012 3:35 PM

To: Paul Manafort Subject: memo

Attachments: WASSR01A-#1224703-v1-gbc_memo_to_ukraine_-c.DOC

Retention: Sent Item

Too ambitious perhaps.



November 26, 2012

Memorandum to the File

This memorandum has two purposes: First, to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of Tymoshenko's case in the European Court of Human Rights; and Second, to distill my experience in the criminal justice system of Ukraine.

This memorandum is not to be treated as a document approved or issued by the law firm. This is my work-product and mine alone. In addition, I am writing this memorandum based on assurances of confidentiality – with the expectation that it will not be widely circulated and that it will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

The European Court of Human Rights

I am not an expert on either the procedures or the precedents of the ECHR. Based on my understanding of the Tymoshenko case, however, my opinions as to the strengths and weaknesses of the appeal are as follows:

Strengths of the Appeal

- The court's decision to receive testimony from significant witnesses and to admit evidence from the prosecution when the defendant was without counsel – in the absence of any lawyer sitting at counsel's table to advise and assist the defendant – is a serious flaw in the case, both procedurally and substantively. In the United States, a reviewing court would grant a new trial.
- Taking the defendant into custody during the trial because of her obstructive behavior would not, by itself, be a violation of the defendants basic rights in light of her conduct. Holding her for the duration of the trial and even after the trial without providing a more detailed explanation of the reasons for her incarceration and without telling her what she has to do to get out -- would be criticized in American courts. The absence of any review could also be seen as a failure. The relief, however, would likely not be a new trial since there is no suggestion that she was prejudiced. It is possible that a court in the United States would reduce her sentence.
- The court's decisions to exclude the testimony of relevant defense witnesses, to deny her
 the chance to present pro-defense experts on damage calculations, and to prevent her
 from pursuing themes she thought to be relevant to the case, (e.g., the role of
 RosUkrEnergo) would prompt a reviewing court in the US to grant her a new trial.
- Despite the fact that she did not present evidence in the trial to establish that her case was
 a selective prosecution, a reviewing court might find that her course of conduct as Prime
 Minister even if you take the prosecutor's case at face value -- did not represent an

abuse of powers as prime minister. Two reasons for this: (1) Many prime ministers have in the past directly negotiated the natural gas deals with the Russians. Her decision to order the Naftogaz CEO to sign would be seen by many as a technicality. (2) The true limits on the scope of her authority – i.e., whether she could or could not close the deal without governmental action – were uncertain and there was some confusion even among legal experts about this point. Some Western courts might find that such confusion or uncertainty or ambiguity as to the precise limits of her authority would preclude a criminal prosecution/conviction of this nature.

 The evidence of criminal intent – i.e., that she actually intended to commit a crime – is virtually non-existent.

Weaknesses of the appeal

- Her own conduct. She was badly advised to behave the way she did in court –
 disrespectful and obstructionist. Had she conducted herself with dignity and been
 respectful, her position on appeal procedurally and substantively -- would be stronger
 and much more sympathetic.
- Her attitude toward the process. She was badly advised to insult and attack the honor and honesty of everyone who she deemed to be against her – the judge, the prosecutors, the jailers and each and every witness against her.
- Her failure adequately to explain why she did what she did is significant. Evidence of her disregard of normal procedures, of the lack of coordination and cooperation with other leaders of government, of cloaking her own actions in secrecy – this evidence is compelling. Evidence of deceit – particularly with respect to

System of Criminal Justice in Ukraine

Over a five month period, our team of lawyers had virtually unlimited access to a group of prosecutors, investigators, staff and supervisory officials in the Ukrainian system of criminal justice. Ukraine inherited this system from the Soviet Union and from the Communist Party. Because Ukraine has been using this system for over sixty years, it is entrenched. But today, it is a system that is also beleaguered, criticized and discredited. There are good reasons for this and need no further explanation. The important thing is this: I came away from my experience hopeful that the owners of the system know that the system is in trouble, are working to change it and are serious about reform.

Attitudes among Ukrainian prosecutors

For whatever the reason, we encountered a real responsiveness among the prosecutors. There was a genuine eagerness to help us perform our assignment. More importantly, we also discovered an openness to change that was unexpected. With few exceptions, the officials in the Office of the Procurator General appeared to be open to the idea of improvement. They welcomed ideas about how they might do things differently, and they wanted to know how we

did it in the United States. I would reinforce this desire to do real justice by introducing Ukraine prosecutors to the lecture delivered by the American jurist, Robert H. Jackson, who, when he was Attorney General in 1940, gave an historic speech to federal prosecutors from all over the United States. ("Your positions are of such independence and importance that while you are being diligent, strict and vigorous in law enforcement, you can also afford to be just. Although the government technically may lose its case, it has really won if justice has been done.") This speech is required reading for American prosecutors.

Too frequently, when asked to explain a decision or a ruling, Ukraine prosecutors proffered — and were satisfied with -- an explanation that involved technical compliance with a rule or a regulation, citing to a specific statute to justify a course of action. They did this to defend questionable decisions of the court as well as to explain prosecutorial decisions of their own. This is human nature. It will take some change for the prosecutorial culture of Ukraine to understand that a prosecutor should not manipulate the system to the detriment of the defendant simply because he/she can. It will take time and more experience in a truly adversarial system before Ukrainian prosecutors will learn that it is not enough just to win the case. They need to be able to look at the larger picture, and to care about the *appearance* of justice as well as the reality of justice.

The prosecutors of Ukraine are not the only prosecutors in the world who suffer from that failure. Those prosecutors who care more about due process than they do about winning are few and far between – in Western courts as well as in Ukraine. But being able to see the larger picture is important. Being able to see the process for what it is and for how it will be seen from the outside is absolutely critical. Having that perspective is vital any effort to reform the criminal justice system in Ukraine.

Most of the officials with whom we worked wanted to understand and live up to Western standards of justice. They are, for example, learning to understand the importance of *good process* as an important objective in itself. That is a good and promising and important development, because "tone at the top' is absolutely essential for change to occur.

With greatest humility, I would make the following suggestions:

Better training for the prosecutors

Ukraine should consider opening an Academy of Advocacy that would – perhaps in a three month course of instruction -- train lawyers to prepare and try cases in court. Any curriculum at such an academy would include lessons in basic procedure; how to manage discovery; how to handle exhibits and preserve evidence; how to identify the critical legal issues and prepare bench memos; how to prepare witnesses; how to make an opening statement and a closing argument; how to think about the credibility of the evidence, to identify an exhibit's weak points and to evaluate the legal issues associated with the exhibit.

Someone somewhere in Ukraine should end or at least truncate the practice of lawyers standing up and reading in court – whether it is prior testimony or transcripts of interviews or hundred-

page indictments. The focus should instead be on presenting the direct testimony of live witnesses and allowing for them to be vigorously cross examined.

There should be a much greater appreciation about the rules of evidence generally but also the due process interest in having evidence that is in fact reliable and — under all standards of justice — admissible. There should be a much greater understanding about the uses and abuses of expert testimony. Just because someone has written a report or has a credential should not allow that person to opine on the ultimate issue. The Academy should organize mock trials — with prosecutors and defense lawyers trying a fake case in front of a real judge. This kind of exercise takes place in law schools throughout the United States, and it should happen in Ukraine.

Better training for the judges

Based on my experience with one judge, I would conclude that Ukraine judges are underpaid, undertrained, undervalued and over-worked. They deserve more money, more support, more training, more respect and more time. They also need more control over their courthouses – in terms of arranging for adequate space for counsel, for the public and for the defendants – and more control over their courtrooms – in terms of sanctioning members of the public who disrupt proceedings. Creating a school for judges – where new judges receive basic training – would be a necessary first step but not sufficient.

Everyone understands the importance of having an independent judiciary. Few are willing to do what is necessary to achieve that objective. Judges should not be immune from removal for incompetence or venality. They should be absolutely immune from being sanctioned because a result is unpopular.

Giving prosecutors more control over the investigation

The investigative arm of the Ukraine system of criminal justice seems to be an independent governmental agency of its own with its own practices and its own procedures that are totally independent of the prosecutorial function. In the West, investigators do have a great deal of freedom and independence as well, but they are always subject to supervision by the prosecutors. This provides for basic accountability.

This means that the prosecutors will preside over providing discovery to the defendant and his counsel; the prosecutors will prepare the file that goes to the court; the prosecutors make the decision as to who will be and who will not be a witness in the trial.

Strengthening the secretariat

The criminal justice system of Ukraine needs new and improved infrastructure to give greater legitimacy and accountability not only to the courts but also to the investigators and the prosecutors. It should be possible – routinely – to get verbatim transcripts of courtroom proceedings. Getting such transcripts should not be a matter of prosecutorial discretion. They should be available not only to the defendant but to the public as well. The same thing can be said for trial exhibits. That it is difficult to verify the way in which a judge is selected – and to

address allegations of bias and political influence – is just plain dumb. It raises questions unnecessarily about the fairness of the proceedings. Many of the inadequacies of the criminal justice system in Ukraine are more the product of bad systems and antiquated practices than they are of intentional and gross violations of human rights.

Using juries

Although the Constitution of Ukraine makes specific reference to the right to a jury trial, there is no jury-trial tradition in Ukraine. Sudden use of juries would be new and even alien to Ukraine citizens. But the availability of juries in some criminal cases would add enormous legitimacy to the criminal justice system and protects the judiciary from political reverberations. It would be a terrible mistake to introduce the practice of jury trials across the nation as if a bolt of lightning had struck. It would be smart to begin the experiment — on a very limited basis with a limited number of cases drawing on a very limited jury pool. It would be smart to teach judges and lawyers how to conduct themselves in front of a jury, how to address and instruct a jury — just to see what would happen. For Ukraine to give serious consideration to the idea, for Ukraine to engage in serious experimentation with the idea would do wonders for Ukraine's reputation.

Section 5 Inspection file, Registration # 3594 Paul J. Manafort May 27, 1987 Paul J. Manafort Registration #3594 Section 5 Inspection July , 1986

Memorandum



Paul J. Manafort
Registration No. 3594
Section 5 Inspection

To

Registration Unit
Internal Security Section
Criminal Division

Attention:

BACKGROUND

The Initial registration statement was filed on June 4, 1984, reporting representation of the government of Saudi Arabia. Paul J. Manafort is a principal in the firm of Black, Manafort, & Stone, Inc. (BMS), which specializes in government relations, political consulting and advertising. Manafort registered in his own name to avoid having the firm register for Saudi Arabia. Employees of BMS who assisted Manafort in his work for the Saudis filed short-form registration statements under registration #3594.

Manafort terminated his short form on June 4, 1985, and refiled on March 11, 1986. A final supplemental statement was filed on January 6, 1987, reporting the termination of the representation of the Saudis on June 30, 1986.

INSPECTION

The inspection consisted of a review of the correspondence, memoranda and other documents, and the financial records maintained in connection with the representation of Saudi Arabia. The inspection covered the entire period of the representation, and disclosed what appear to be significant deficiencies in the registration, insofar as activities that have not been reported on the supplemental statement forms. For the most part, proposals and suggested activities have not been included in this report, but only activities which correspondence, memoranda or other notes state have occurred. The registrant will be required to detail these activities on amendment to registration statement forms or, in the appropriate cases, advise this office in writing that such activities did not occur. The notes attached to this report constitute a complete description of the registrant's records. Numerous references to proposals and suggested

activities have not been included in the final report or the letter to the registrant, because of assurances by registrant's representatives , of BMS, and registrant's attorney, that the proposals were never acted upon. The significant activities which were not reported on the supplemental statements follow:

- 1. June 29, 1984 memo Manafort and saudi/US Business Roundtable Roundtable member companies should lobby their Senators and "coordinate their efforts through the ad hoc 'Jerusalem Contact Group' which we can put them in contact with."
- 2. July 13, 1984 memo to the "Jerusalem Contact Group" Regarding the status of Jerusalem legislation, states that one member of Congress can object to a suspension of the rules, and has a handwritten note that BMS should find that member.
- 3. August 4, 1984 memo Manafort and — Manafort and personally lobbied the offices of
- 4. September 25, 1984 memo to Manafort Contacts with concerning amendments to the Jerusalem Bill. Efforts with a group to write a minority report on the Jerusalem Bill, and references to "the loop on the Hill" and "the political White House stuff."
- 5. March 6, 1985 letter to Manafort and Handwritten notes refer to efforts to include "politically oriented" language in the report being prepared on the Saudi arms package. A handwritten note to asked "Did we try to get this into report?" Reply "Yes through the usual channel.
- 7. March 29, 1985 letter enclosing two articles to be passed on to
- 8. April 23, 1985 memo Manafort to ______ "... we are trying to persuade the White House to emphasize to the NSC the need to force the study to a conclusion. ... we have presented the anxieties which we have picked up in our conversations on Capitol Hill."
- 9. June 14, 1985 memo Manafort and Extensive second quarter activities described, including contacts with the Administration and Congress, as well as activities on behalf of Jordan and their lobbying counsel.

- 11. Undated document to Paul "Latest State Department poop on Jerusalem"-Refers to White House, Hill and
 Derwinski, followed by notation "BACK CHANNEL".
- 12. Undated document

 "Fred attended meeting held by NAAA on Saudi Arms Sales. As a result the following is suggested as content for a telex to go out to Roundtable Members"

 (3 paragraphs follow, not copied.)
- 14. January 8, 1986 document The writer (unidentified) had lunch with and discussed Saudi Arabia, the Philippines and the Foreign Assistance Bill.
- 15. April 25 and April 30, 1986 memos Manafort to Initiated grass roots campaign among home state supporters of certain Senators in connection with the Saudi arms proposal, and follow up on calls that haven't been made.
- 16. April 25 and April 30, 1986 memos Manafort to and April 25, 1986 memo Manafort to the Intercontinental Hotel Refer to "talking points" which the registrant "provided". The Intercontinental memo had an attachment "Talking Papers for Telephone calls on Pending Saudi Munitions Sale."
- 17. April 30, 1986 memo Manafort to "I have had several conversations with on the arms sale. Their column appears in todays ... and we are circulating it in appropriate places."
- 18. Steno notebook, page 9 A copy of the "Q&A" was left in office, and additional information on oil output was requested.

The attached audit report is a part of this inspection report. A letter to the registrant, concerning amendments and other responses, is also attached.

INTRODUCTION ·

This portion of the inspection report will serve as an audit report of the subject registrant's compliance with the financial reporting requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

SCOPE OF AUDIT

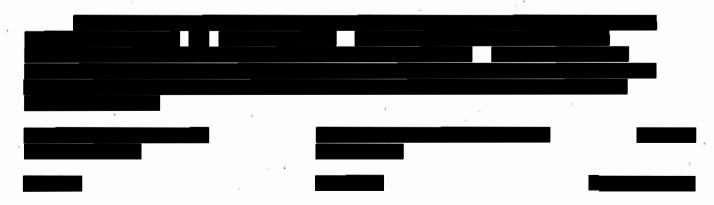
I have examined the books and records of the registrant as they relate to the Act for the period of May 24, 1984 through June 4, 1986. The examination was conducted in accordance with certain generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such test of the accounting records and other auditing procedures as were considered necessary in the circumstances.

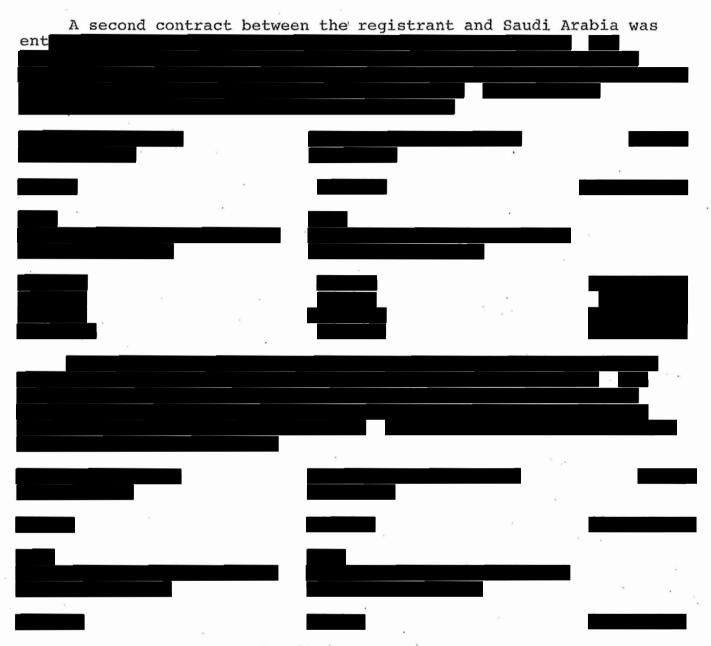
OPINION

In the writer's opinion, for reasons discussed in the recommendation section of this report, the registrant's financial disclosures as presented in their initial and supplemental statements do not accurately reflect the financial activities of the registrant for purposes of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Background

Appearing below is an analysis of the financial terms and conditions of the contract between Paul J. Manafort (Registration No. 3594) and the Government of Saudi Arabia, and the compensation Manafort received as per the audit. The purpose of this analysis is to determine if the compensation received by the registrant remained consistent with the financial clauses contained in the contracts filed with this office. This analysis allows the audit to determine if funds were received by the registrant in addition to funds clearly set forth and receivable per contract filed with this office, and thereby indicate the existence of an agreement, and activities, between the registrant and the foreign principal not disclosed to this office. analysis also allows the audit to determine if the registrant was party to any agreement in which compensation was contingent, in whole or in part, upon the successful completion of any political activities.





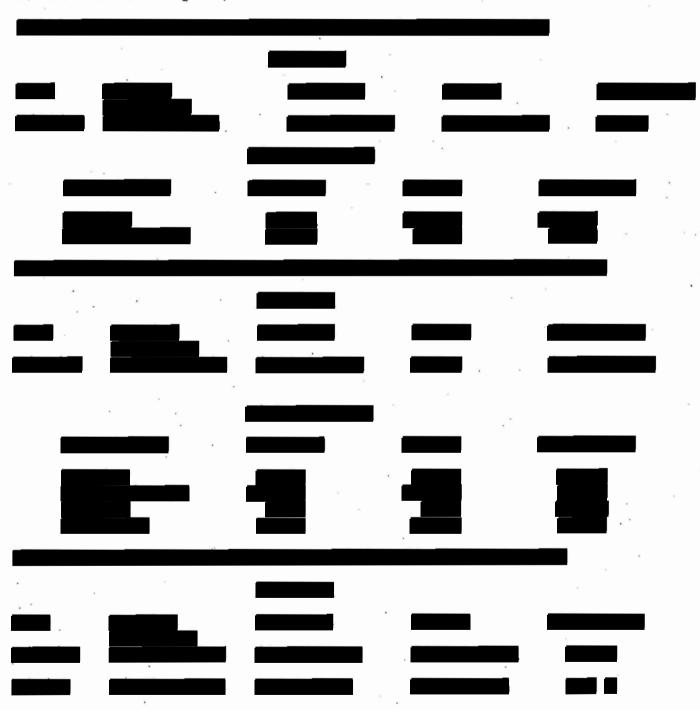
Conclusion

The books and records of the registrant as presented to the auditor did not contain any evidence of monies received in addition to monies receivable per contract, or monies received in violation of the contingency provision provided in Section 8(h), of the Act.

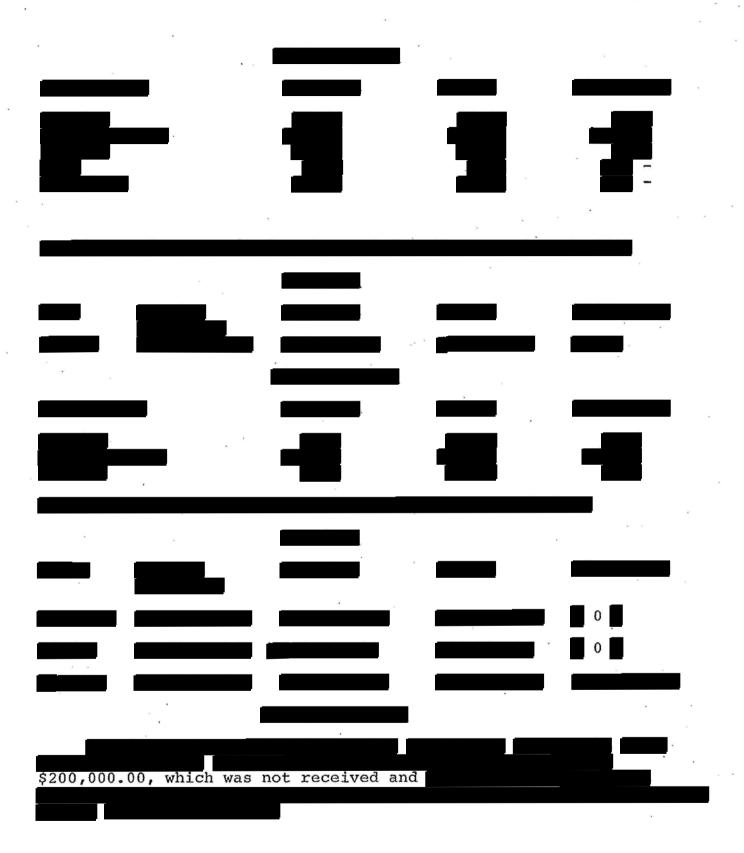
In addition, as indicated the provisions of the three contracts included expense reimbursement by Saudi Arabia to the registrant. Total expenses reimbursed to the registrant by the foreign principal during the terms of the three contracts amounted to the reader wishes to see a detailing of the registrant's expenses refer to the receipts and disbursements portions of this report.

Notes to Financial Records

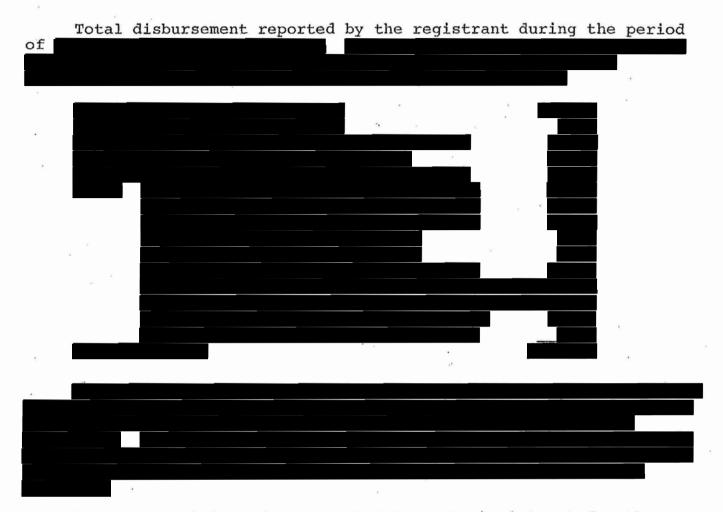
Appearing in this section of the inspection report is a comparison between the receipts and disbursements reported by the registrant with the amounts actually received and incurred. The differences between the two are addressed in the recommendation section of the report, which follows.







Page 8 of 9



Amendments will not be requested from the registrant for the discrepancies in reported to actual disbursements. However, the registrant should be advised to give closer attention to proper period reporting in order to avoid future discrepancies.

FBI 302

REDACTED

FBI 302

REDACTED